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TIME

VOL. 195, NO. 22 | 2020

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TIME*

**ON THE COVER:**  
*Painting by Titus  
Kaphar for TIME*

# Let's rethink how the world works.

The outbreak of COVID-19 has upended not just healthcare, but every aspect of our lives. Today, as our businesses and communities reopen, each of us will have moments of both anxiety and relief.

Perhaps this isn't a restart, it's a rethink. A time to apply valuable lessons to the complex problems that lie ahead—and actually help solve them.

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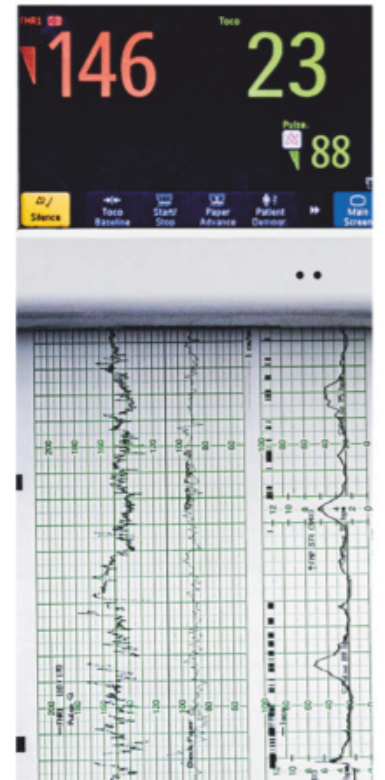
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# Behind the Cover

For this week's cover on the protests surrounding the death of George Floyd, we turned to artist Titus Kaphar. He wrote the following piece in response to this moment.

## ***I cannot sell you this painting, 2020***

By Titus Kaphar

I  
cannot  
sell  
you  
this  
painting.

In her expression, I see the Black mothers  
who are unseen, and rendered helpless in  
this fury against their babies.

As I listlessly wade through another cycle  
of violence against Black people,

I paint a Black mother ...  
eyes closed,  
furrowed brow,  
holding the contour of her loss.

Is this what it means for us?  
Are black and loss  
analogous colors in America?  
If Malcolm could not fix it,  
if Martin could not fix it,  
if Michael,  
Sandra,  
Trayvon,  
Tamir,  
Breonna and  
Now George Floyd ...  
can be murdered  
and nothing changes ...  
wouldn't it be foolish to remain hopeful?  
Must I accept that this is what it means to  
be Black in America?

Do  
not  
ask  
me  
to be  
hopeful.

I have given up trying to describe the  
feeling of knowing that I can not be safe  
in the country of my birth ...

How do I explain to my children that the  
very system set up to protect others could  
be a threat to our existence?

How do I shield them from the  
psychological impact of knowing that for  
the rest of our lives we will likely be seen  
as a threat, and for that

We may die?

A MacArthur won't protect you.

A Yale degree won't protect you.

Your well-spoken plea will not  
change hundreds of years of  
institutionalized hate.

You will never be as eloquent as Baldwin,  
you will never be as kind as King ...

So, isn't it only reasonable to believe that  
there will be no change soon?

And so those without hope ...

Burn.

This Black mother understands the fire.

Black mothers understand despair.

I can change NOTHING in this world,  
but in paint,

I can realize her ...

This brings me solace ...

not hope, but solace.

She walks me through the flames of rage.

My Black mother rescues me yet again.

I want to be sure that she is seen.

I want to be certain that her story is told.

And so, this time

America must hear her voice. This time  
America must believe her.

One  
Black  
mother's  
loss  
WILL  
be  
memorialized.

This time  
I will not let her go.

I  
cannot  
sell  
you  
this  
painting.



In his new work *Analogous Colors*, the artist Titus Kaphar depicts an African-American mother holding her child. On the cover, it is surrounded by the names of 35 men and women whose deaths, in many cases at the hands of police, were the result of systemic racism and helped fuel the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement. This is the first time the red border of TIME includes the names of people. Their names are a fraction of the many more who have lost their lives because of the racist violence that has been part of this nation from its start.

*Below, a young George Floyd with his mother Larcenia Floyd*



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## *‘To suggest that there aren’t racial challenges and patterns is for someone to be blind.’*

**TIM SCOTT,**

the only black Republican U.S. Senator, in a June 1 interview on CBS; a day before, National Security Adviser Robert O’Brien denied the existence of systemic racism in the nation’s law enforcement



**GOOD NEWS**  
of the week

**Necco Wafers are returning to store shelves after a two-year hiatus following their former producer’s bankruptcy, according to a May 28 announcement; the iconic candy disks were first created in 1847**

## **‘The first aim is to break these infection chains throughout the whole population.’**

**PAUL WILMES,**

spokesperson for Luxembourg’s coronavirus task force, as the country on May 27 initiated a nine-week effort to test every single one of its roughly 625,000 residents, plus cross-border workers, for COVID-19



**\$146,000**

Sale price of a bottle of vintage cognac from 1762, at an online auction May 28

## **‘DONALD TRUMP HAS TURNED THIS COUNTRY INTO A BATTLEFIELD.’**

**JOE BIDEN,**

Democratic presidential candidate and former Vice President, in a June 2 address in Philadelphia

## **‘COVID still kills also.’**

**ANDREW CUOMO,**

New York governor, encouraging people who are protesting the death of George Floyd to be mindful of health guidelines, at a June 2 press conference

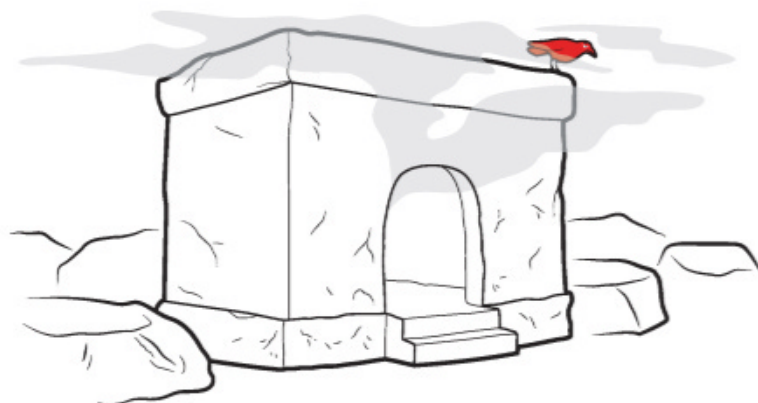
*‘It’s basically a regime of terror.’*

**VALERIA SILVA GUZMÁN,**

former Bolivian Congresswoman currently claiming asylum in Mexico, on the caretaker presidency of Jeanine Áñez, who has postponed elections and is accused of victimizing political opponents

**2,700**

Age, in years, of a temple in Israel in which researchers discovered evidence of ancient cannabis use, according to a paper published May 28





# The Brief



## GO FOR LIFTOFF

A new stage in public-private spaceflight began May 30 as a crewed SpaceX craft launched at NASA's Kennedy Space Center

## INSIDE

PERU'S CORONAVIRUS CRISIS IS A BAD SIGN FOR LATIN AMERICA

THE U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM THE WHO, BY THE NUMBERS

DR. ANTHONY FAUCI REMEMBERS ACTIVIST LARRY KRAMER



## SPACE

# America's innovative return to orbit

By Jeffrey Kluger

**Y**OU NEVER KNOW WHAT YOU'VE GOT TILL IT'S gone. If you don't believe that, consider the jubilation in Cape Canaveral at 3:22 p.m. E.T. on May 30, when an American rocket carrying an American crew lifted off from American soil for the first time since 2011, carrying astronauts Doug Hurley and Bob Behnken to the International Space Station (ISS).

The last time there was this kind of U.S. hoopla for a mere flight to low Earth orbit might have been the first time, on Feb. 20, 1962, when John Glenn became the first American to orbit the planet. Orbital flight has become routine, but after the last space shuttle was retired in 2011, the U.S. was reduced to hitching rides on Russia's Soyuz spacecraft at a cool \$80 million a seat. So the May 30 launch, aboard a SpaceX Falcon 9 rocket and Crew Dragon spacecraft, sends one signal more powerfully than any other: when it comes to space, America is back.

"This is a big moment in time," said NASA administrator Jim Bridenstine at a news conference earlier in the week.

The significance lies not only in the fact that America is flying again but also in the way it's flying—and what that means for the future of space exploration. The launch was the result of 10 years of work under NASA's commercial crew program, an initiative begun in 2010 to get the agency out of the business of flying astronauts to and from low Earth orbit and turn the job over to private companies, freeing up NASA to concentrate its human exploration efforts on crewed missions to the moon and Mars.

Credit for SpaceX's success goes in large measure to the company's proven hardware, including the workhorse Falcon 9 rocket, which has been ferrying satellites to orbit and making space-station cargo runs since 2010. The Falcon's reliability is owed to its simplicity: SpaceX designs rockets using a single type of engine that is bundled into a cluster of nine for the Falcon 9 and a whopping 27 for the bigger Falcon Heavy. The first stage—a part that's usually dumped in the ocean when the rocket is partway to space—can be used more than once. The Dragon spacecraft is likewise reusable.

In truth, the program was never as private-sector as it seemed. After NASA selected both SpaceX and Boeing to develop new crew vehicles, it paid the companies a combined \$6.8 billion in research and seed money, and contracted with them to ferry cargo and crew to the ISS. NASA

worked closely with both companies during the R&D process. "[SpaceX] had this vision of how the Crew Dragon should look, feel and operate," says John Posey, lead engineer for NASA's Crew Dragon team. "But we had two-way communication."

Boeing had looked like it might be the first out of the gate for crewed flight, after the uncrewed test launch of its CST-100 Starliner in December 2019. But while the spacecraft made it to orbit and back, a software failure caused it to use too much fuel, preventing it from achieving its principal objective of docking with the ISS. That left the field clear for SpaceX to be first.

**SPACEX BOSS ELON MUSK** celebrated that win with characteristic irreverence. "The trampoline is working!" he said shortly after the launch. It was a rejoinder to a 2014 comment made by former Deputy Prime Minister of Russia Dmitry Rogozin who, after the U.S. imposed Ukraine-related sanctions against Russia, snarked that America was welcome to use a trampoline to get its astronauts to the ISS.

Dragon has not yet completely proved itself a suitable replacement for that trampoline—or for the Soyuz. The current mission is officially dubbed Demo-2, a nod to the fact that this is still a demonstration flight that must be completed successfully before the company will be certified to make regular crewed runs to the station. Boeing will be required to prove its mettle the same way.

Once the companies do so, NASA will be able to focus more fully on completing its long-delayed Orion crew capsule and Space Launch System (SLS) rocket, which will have to be put through their own paces if the space agency hopes to meet the Administration's goal of having boots on the moon in 2024. The pocket money saved by not having to pay the freight for seats on the Soyuz will help.

The U.S. is by no means the only country in the world to be home to a vibrant private space sector. Europe's Arianespace has been in the business of launching payloads since the company's founding in 1980, and the Continent is home to other aerospace giants including Airbus and Eutelsat. In India too, private companies are working hand in hand with the Indian Space Research Organisation, the nation's NASA. China also has a growing, if still nascent, private sector. All of those companies, however, fly uncrewed missions.

China and Russia, the only other two countries in the world to fly humans, are keeping that work confined to flights of their state-sponsored spacecraft.

That returns the U.S. to a place it had long been accustomed to occupying in the arena of space travel: the vanguard. American technology got astronauts to the moon in the 1960s and 1970s and is returning them to space now. This time, American business is very much along for the ride. □

**'This is hopefully the first step on a journey toward civilization on Mars ... a base on the moon and expanding beyond Earth.'**

**ELON MUSK,**  
SpaceX founder,  
after its successful  
launch







Noly Suarez, 53, at the burial of her brother, who died from COVID-19, near Lima on May 26

## THE BULLETIN

### Why Peru's COVID-19 problem spiraled—despite a strict lockdown

**MANY GOVERNMENTS RESISTED TOUGH** social-distancing measures and then saw their countries' COVID-19 cases explode. In Peru, it's a different story. The nation entered a strict lockdown on March 15, when it had just 71 confirmed cases—earlier than some European countries. But now this nation of 32 million has one of the world's highest per capita rates of new infections per day, with more than 4,500 reported daily in the week leading up to June 2. Experts say socioeconomic conditions undermined the quarantine. That's a bad omen for the rest of Latin America, the new center of the pandemic.

**LOCKDOWN LIMITS** Whatever quarantine rules say, it's hard for many Peruvians to stay home. Roughly 70% work in the informal employment sector, with little job security and no sick pay. Nearly 44% of homes don't have a refrigerator, so families must go out often to get food. Busy markets have become hubs of infection. "We're seeing the measures designed in the capital collide with the reality of the country," says Iván Hidalgo of Lima's Institute of Government and Public Management.

**BALANCING ACT** COVID-19 has torn through Peru's public-health system, which has been left "small and defenseless" by underinvestment, Health Minister Victor Zamora told local media in May. By June 1, more than 4,000 had died. Yet President Martín Vizcarra has begun allowing some businesses to reopen. He says infections have reached a "nonflat plateau," and Zamora argues that the lockdown, during which 31% of Peruvians have reported losing their jobs, is itself damaging public health by driving up hunger and poverty. "We have to restore a balance," he said. "This is the first step."

**REGION AT RISK** Peru's experience reflects the grim scenario facing emerging economies across Latin America, which now accounts for 40% of daily coronavirus-related deaths. Limited state aid, large informal sectors and high inequality rates leave the poor exposed to the virus and authorities struggling to stop the spread. The coming weeks may bring a reckoning for countries that have not invested in their social safety nets, Hidalgo says. "Every country will see their reality laid bare." —CIARA NUGENT

## NEWS TICKER

### Powerful cyclone hits near Mumbai

Cyclone Nisarga made landfall on the coast of India on June 3, with 75 m.p.h. winds and heavy rains forcing the **evacuation of tens of thousands of people** to shelters. The cyclone's eye narrowly missed Mumbai, India's most densely populated city and home to 20 million people.

### EPA cuts state ability to block pipelines

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency announced a new rule on June 1 that will limit states' ability to use the Clean Water Act to review and **stop new fossil-fuel infrastructure projects**. Oil and gas industry groups lauded the change, while environmental organizations said it illegally undermines the law it modifies.

### Rain-forest loss increases worldwide

Satellite analysis released June 2 by the Global Forest Watch network showed that a **soccer-field-size area of tropical rain forest was lost** every six seconds around the world in 2019. Nearly a third of the 12 million-hectare loss occurred within humid tropical primary forests, important areas for biodiversity and carbon storage.



## GOOD QUESTION

### What could the U.S. withdrawal actually mean for the WHO?

THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION HAS driven some of the greatest public-health triumphs of the modern era, and throughout its 72-year history, the U.S. has been its biggest sponsor. During the WHO's latest funding cycle, the U.S. contributed \$893 million—15% of the entire budget and more than twice as much as any other country. That has been the norm for decades and put the U.S. at the center of the world's most important public-health apparatus.

Then came President Donald Trump and COVID-19.

"I am instructing my Administration to halt funding of the WHO while a review is conducted to assess the WHO's role in severely mismanaging and covering up the spread of the coronavirus," Trump said on April 14. In a subsequent letter to WHO Director-General Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, Trump threatened to permanently freeze U.S. contributions and "reconsider" membership.

On May 29, he announced he would terminate the U.S. relationship with the WHO—though it's not that simple. Under U.S. law, the country must give the WHO a year's notice before leaving. This means a U.S. exit wouldn't come until after the November election.

Nevertheless, Trump's rhetoric has already had an impact. Negotiations for new funding are currently on hold, says Imre Hollo, the WHO's director of strategic planning. And while the majority of its programs have been funded through 2020, the WHO anticipates a shortfall in 2021. Despite that, he remains optimistic that the WHO will

patch up its relationship with the U.S. So does his boss, Tedros, who said on June 1, "It is WHO's wish for this collaboration to continue."

In addition to the U.S.'s \$237 million "assessed contribution"—its WHO membership dues—the country gave an additional \$656 million in 2018–19. The U.S. gets to earmark those "voluntary contributions" for specific uses, which means it has had a lot of say in what the WHO does. For example, the U.S. put \$166 million toward polio during 2018–19 and has funded the effort with similar enthusiasm for years—a major reason polio is nearly eradicated. The U.S. also designated over \$120 million to improving

access to community health services, covering 40% of the program's budget. Other likely victims of a U.S. withdrawal include programs on tropical disease, HIV and hepatitis, and tuberculosis.

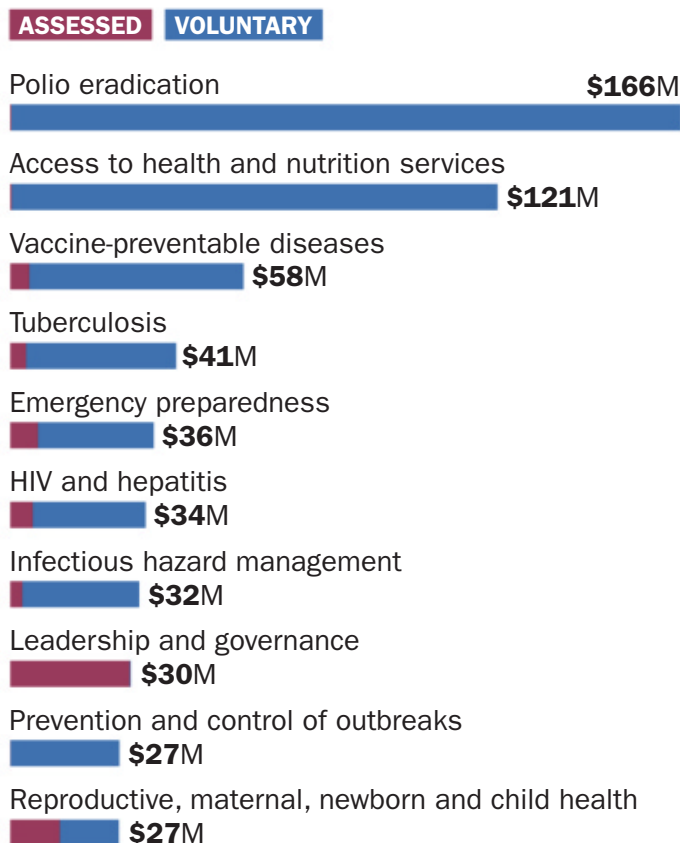
The impacts wouldn't just be felt abroad. Were the U.S. to leave the WHO, scientists and public-health officials in the U.S. would be cut off from some of the most important global health communication channels. Case in point: In the early days of COVID-19, "not all of the data from China was public," says Amanda Glass-

man, executive vice president of the Center for Global Development. "It was shared among the WHO member states initially." That information should have enabled the U.S. health infrastructure to rapidly spring into action.

"No one's saying that the organization is perfect, but it works as well as it could," says Glassman. Ultimately, the U.S. must cooperate with other nations to protect Americans against global health threats, she says. "We have to negotiate, to converse with them, to get into them and to work together. The WHO is the way to do that." —ELIJAH WOLFSON

#### Where U.S. funding goes

Here are the WHO programs with the highest total amount of U.S. funding in 2018 and 2019



## NEWS TICKER

### Elections shift Iowa district and Ferguson

Elections held across the U.S. on June 2 yielded notable results in Iowa, where nine-term Congressman Steve King—who lost his committee seats in 2019 after appearing to endorse white supremacy—lost a Republican primary, and in Missouri, where Ella Jones was elected the **first black mayor of Ferguson**.

### Israel apologizes for police killing

Israel's Defense Minister Benny Gantz apologized on May 31 for the **police killing of Iyad Halak, an unarmed Palestinian man** who was autistic. Halak's family said the 32-year-old was on his way to a school in Jerusalem for students with special needs on May 30 when Israeli police forces shot him.

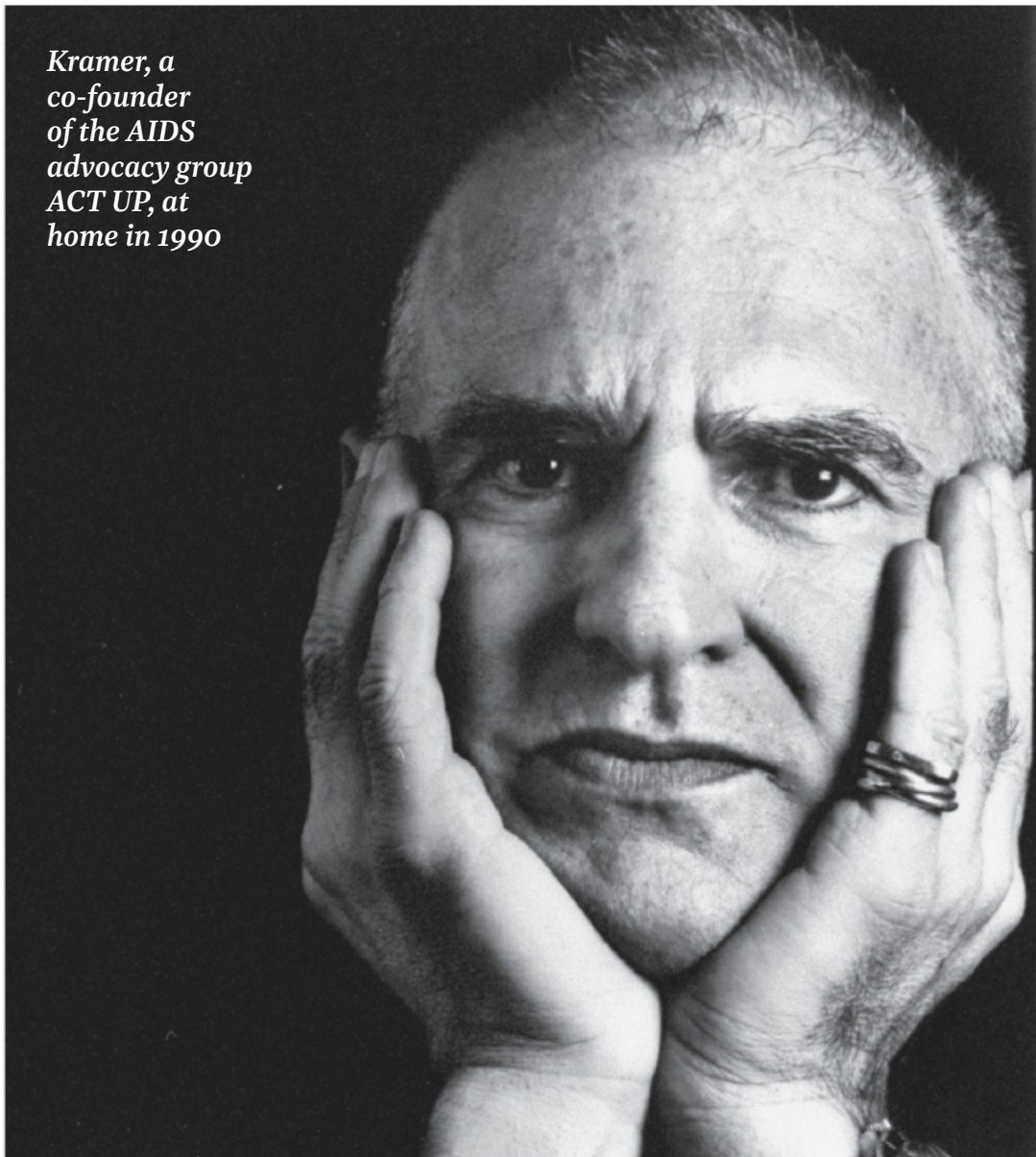
### GOP seeks to move convention

After a series of back-and-forth demands between Republican convention planners and North Carolina Democratic Governor Roy Cooper, President Trump said on June 2 that his party would attempt to **move its August convention to another state**. Cooper would not preauthorize a large-scale gathering, citing COVID-19 risks.



# Milestones

*Kramer, a co-founder of the AIDS advocacy group ACT UP, at home in 1990*



**DIED**

## **Larry Kramer** *Era-shaping activist* By Dr. Anthony Fauci

LARRY KRAMER, WHO DIED AT 84 on May 27, transformed the relationship between activism and the scientific, regulatory and government communities. He realized early on in the AIDS crisis that the country as a whole, particularly in the form of the federal government, was not paying much attention to the emerging pandemic. He became very iconoclastic in the way he confronted authority, because he wanted to get that attention.

Back then, I was the scientist leading the AIDS effort at the National Institutes of Health. He called me a murderer for being negligent about HIV. That shocked me, but it got me to think that I needed to know a little more about this guy. So I reached out—and over the

years we went from acquaintances who were adversarial to very, very dear friends.

He was a firebrand who brought attention to things; he was totally abrasive, confrontational and theatrical. But people didn't realize what a sensitive guy he was. He cared about people, and he was deeply committed to the good of the gay community. How many figures are there who blast away at what they feel are injustices, who use tactics no one has ever used before?

I spoke to him about two weeks ago. When we have ended our calls over the past few years, he would say, "I love you, Tony," and I would say, "I love you, Larry." Those were the last words we said to each other that last night. That was a good way to end a very long and dear friendship.

*Fauci is director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases*



*Christo's 2016 work The Floating Piers*

**DIED**

## **Christo** *Artist on a grand scale* By JR

WHEN I FIRST SAW CHRISTO'S WORK, I thought, "What is this? He's just wrapping things up? Why?" But I soon realized that is exactly the kind of confrontation you want with art: trying to make your own way to the actual answer to the question of why. To me, that's what his work provokes.

Especially after I learned that Christo and Jeanne-Claude, his wife and artistic partner, who died in 2009, stayed away from working with brands and self-financed many of their projects, I loved to be compared to him. When I had the chance to meet Christo—who died May 31 at 84—in New York City at his studio, I remember how focused he was. I loved being around his energy, and the time he gave me was everything to me. He told me that his projects existed through his conversations about them with others; that's what mattered so much to him.

I think people should remember him for his vision, which went on for decades, and take inspiration from the dedication he and Jeanne-Claude showed to their work.

*JR, a 2018 TIME 100 honoree, is an artist and photographer*



*The artist Christo in 2018*



## Fox News Channel's **Chris Wallace** remains the ultimate insider at a network built for outsiders

By **Karl Vick**

A VIDEO SCREEN IS OF COURSE JUST THE PLACE to meet up with Chris Wallace. That arched brow and knowing smile have existed as pixels since the 1970s, when he began a television news career that took him from NBC to ABC to Fox, where he has hosted *Fox News Sunday* since 2003. But the face on Zoom is not the strangely ageless one known to viewers, as indistinct at its edges as the features of an infant. Without makeup, Wallace even at 72 hardly qualifies as craggy. But at least there are lines on his face.

"I've always in my career been the Kid," says Wallace, who at just 34 became NBC's chief White House correspondent. "I'm kind of the elder statesman now, which I kind of enjoy."

He's been riding out the lockdown in his Annapolis, Md., vacation home, working out of the guest apartment above the garage. As he pans his laptop to the left, the largely vacant space appears to be draped with several pairs of dress pants—exactly the thing you don't have to wear in quarantine. In fact, the fabric turns out to be bunched-up blackout curtains for a makeshift studio. This is a work space, and lately Wallace has been working on more than just the first draft of history.

The book is out June 9. *Countdown 1945* covers the 116 days between Harry S. Truman's becoming President and the destruction of Hiroshima. Its brisk, naturally propulsive narrative rotates among players that include Manhattan Project scientists, a B-29 flight crew and a 10-year-old Japanese girl who manages to survive a blast that 135,000 people did not. The idea for the book's structure came from Jay Winik's *April 1865: The Month that Saved America*, but Wallace didn't know where his book would start until February 2019, when he found himself in the U.S. Capitol hideaway where, shortly after FDR's death, Truman got a call from the White House, set down the phone and exclaimed, "Jesus Christ and General Jackson!"

"And at that moment, I thought: That's it!" Wallace says.

As a work of history written by a Fox News personality, the book aims for the best-seller list long crowded by the ousted Bill O'Reilly, whose *Killing* series has sold millions. But *Countdown* also reflects the rigor and fealty to facts that have distinguished Wallace, and made him a bit of an outlier at the network that pioneered spin. Researching the book,

### WALLACE QUICK FACTS

#### Perceived bias

The 2019 Emmy nomination for Wallace's Vladimir Putin interview was the first Fox News ever received. "The feeling was the media establishment was stacked against us."

#### Bad dad

Mike Wallace stole a Chris Rock interview from his son when Chris Wallace was at ABC.

#### Family bookshelf

Chris' wife Lorraine Wallace has authored three cookbooks, all with "Mr. Sunday" in the title.

Wallace was stuck by Truman's "decisionmaking process." The novice President famously owned all final decisions—a plaque reading *THE BUCK STOPS HERE* really was on his desk—but decided only after soliciting advice widely. The question of whether to deploy the atomic bomb was mulled by a committee that included the president of Harvard, physicists Enrico Fermi and J. Robert Oppenheimer, and other great minds.

"The inclusiveness and the deliberateness of that process does seem to contrast with the way decisions are made these days," Wallace says, naming no names. "I wasn't looking to do that. But it became evident as I researched the book."

**WALLACE MAY BE** the physical embodiment of the media establishment. His father was Mike Wallace, the feared interrogator of *60 Minutes*. But his parents divorced when he was a baby, and Chris was raised by his mother and stepfather Bill Leonard, the CBS News president who oversaw the creation of *60 Minutes* and much else in network news. Chris attended Hotchkiss and Harvard, and worked at the *Boston Globe*. His own stepchildren were fathered by Dick Smothers, half of the folk-singer comedic team that, via *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* in the latter 1960s, became a touchstone for a liberal sensibility that eventually enforced a new orthodoxy across the national media.

The anchor says Rupert Murdoch and the late Roger Ailes, who together created Fox News, "took a completely different view: 'We think there's a big untapped market out there that feels, Hey, I haven't been getting the news, the news as they understand it, as straight news, ever. And that these three broadcast networks are all telling a version of the news, and it's all very similar—as you say, one set of facts. But they're not speaking to us' ... And that's the secret to the success of Fox News."

Wallace says he has never been pressured to toe any line at Fox, and still enjoys the independence Ailes promised when he was hired. Wallace held Vladimir Putin's feet to the fire in a widely praised interview in 2018. And he points out that he recently confronted both Trump Administration officials and former CDC director Dr. Tom Frieden with uncomfortable facts. "I'm a contrarian," he says.

"The problem is I think people want Fox to be one thing," Wallace says. "It isn't. It's a lot of things. And I understand why that becomes uncomfortable or difficult for people." He notes that after Trump claimed to be taking hydroxychloroquine to prevent COVID-19, it was Fox host Neil Cavuto who warned viewers, "It will kill you." But in general, the line Wallace draws runs between news and talk. "I do what I do, I'm proud of what I do. What happens in prime time, they run their operation."





**THE PRESIDENT IS** not a fan. In an April 12 tweet, he called Chris Wallace a “Mike Wallace wannabe ... even worse than Sleepy Eyes Chuck Todd of Meet the Press (please!), or the people over at Deface the Nation. What the hell is happening to @FoxNews. It’s a whole new ballgame over there!”

Is it? Control of the parent company passed in 2018 from Rupert Murdoch to his son Lachlan, but Fox News remains (as well as the most popular channel on cable) so synched to the White House that it has faced complaints that it may bear responsibility for deaths that resulted from its amplification of Trump’s early dismissal of the virus.

What has changed is the story. Politics, being about perception and framing, comes with a built-in flexibility that’s visible by toggling between Fox and MSNBC. But science is nothing if not facts. And public health requires consistent, clear messaging to coax the behavioral changes necessary to contain contagion. Wallace lists his recent guests on *Fox News Sunday*: Bill Gates, Johns Hopkins’ Dr. Tom Inglesby, Frieden and National Institute

**‘The problem is I think people want Fox to be one thing. It isn’t. It’s a lot of things.’**

CHRIS WALLACE,  
host of *Fox News Sunday*

of Allergy and Infectious Diseases director Dr. Anthony Fauci. “I want anybody who watches my show to have nothing but the facts,” he says. “Nothing but the science. And there’s plenty else out there, and I can’t control that. I can control what I’m communicating to people.”

What does he make of the current President? “Well, it’s interesting,” Wallace says. After sitting down with candidate Trump in October 2015, he recalls telling his Sunday panel the man could be elected. “They all looked at me as if I’d come in in tennis shorts.” What persuaded Wallace, he says, was Trump’s argument that globalism had left behind millions of Americans who felt Washington no longer cared about them.

To a student of the Fox News formula, it had a familiar ring.

“We can talk about the President,” Wallace says. “I have plenty of critical things to say about him. But he clearly speaks to a feeling out there that there is an ‘inside game’ that those voters are not part of and that nobody is looking out for them, and he is.”



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# TheView

FOOD

## NO, THIS IS NOT THE END OF MEAT

By Alicia Kennedy

As the coronavirus has spread through America's meatpacking plants amid a growing recognition that overcrowded factory farms are risk factors for other diseases, some people have wondered whether we've reached a tipping point. Might Americans finally be ready to go easy on their beloved hot dogs and steaks? Simply put, no. ▶

INSIDE

TRUMP'S EMPTY EFFORT  
TO EXPAND THE G-7

THE NIGHTMARE OF THE  
AMERICAN MEDICAL SYSTEM

WE CAN'T WAIT FOR  
SOCIAL MEDIA TO FIX ITSELF



# TheView Opener

It is true that some Americans have had to adapt during the pandemic. Some slaughterhouses shut down as the virus ran rampant through the workforce. One Tyson Foods pork-processing plant closed after more than 20% of its employees tested positive. Hundreds of Wendy's locations ran out of burgers. Grocery stores put limits on how much meat customers could buy. But while *Eating Animals* author Jonathan Safran Foer took to the *New York Times* to declare, "The end of meat is here," and others have noted the increased sales of plant-based meat products like Beyond Burgers, there is little evidence that any change in our eating habits will stick.

History tells us that Americans become upset about meat only when production is shown to be unsanitary, or when supply dwindles and prices go up. In fact, meat is so central to the American diet that President Trump has sought to keep supermarket butcher cases full with far more urgency than he has approached other aspects of the pandemic. Not only did he issue an Executive Order deeming processors of beef, pork and poultry critical infrastructure, he also announced billions of dollars in relief for food producers, much of which will benefit industrial-meat companies. These actions are not surprising: if those cases were empty on his watch, it would mean he had failed to defend a fundamental part of the country's cultural fabric.

The consumption of meat has long signaled human authority over nature. In the U.S., the first European settlers took advantage of the ample availability of land taken from indigenous people to breed the livestock they'd brought over with them. Beef, especially, became bound to ideas of white, all-American virility. The Beef Industry Council used the slogan "Real food for real people" in the 1980s, and its famous "Beef. It's What's for Dinner" campaign has featured actors who give off a rugged cowboy vibe, like Sam Elliott and Matthew McConaughey.

Of course, it's not as if we didn't

already have incentives to reduce our meat consumption. It's well documented that animals raised for meat, dairy and eggs increase greenhouse-gas emissions that cause climate change. And for years we were told to eat less red meat because of links to heart disease, cancer and other health conditions. That produced a certain amount of change in the American diet, toward more chicken. But a 1999 Gallup poll found that 6% of Americans identified as vegetarians. In 2018, that number was 5%.

**THE ONE TIME** that the national dependence on cheap meat was truly challenged was when Upton Sinclair published *The Jungle* in 1905. His intention was to drum up support for a movement that would end the abuse and exploitation of the workforce at the nation's meatpacking plants. Instead, the depiction

of unsanitary production conditions primarily caused concern over whether the meat that people were eating was rotten or contaminated. The Federal Meat Inspection Act passed in 1906, mandating that the USDA ensure sanitary conditions and proper labeling,

but more than a century later, workplace hazards remain: Those needs are secondary when slaughterhouses are staffed largely by immigrant labor making low wages while living with repetitive motion injury, damaging psychological effects and surprise raids by Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

Don't expect the pandemic to change that. "The producers want people never to think about them," says Joshua Specht, author of *Red Meat Republic: A Hoof-to-Table History of How Beef Changed America*. "They want them to imagine there's no backstory, and for the vast majority of people, I think that is still the case." Trump's recent moves to keep production going only made official what we already know about meat in this country: it's considered essential to American life, and that's how it will remain.

*Kennedy is a writer and recipe developer in San Juan, P.R.*



*A butcher reaches for a cut of beef at Eastern Market in Washington, D.C., on May 5*

## SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on [time.com/ideas](https://time.com/ideas)

### Essential services

The global crisis is not affecting just our physical health, writes U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres:

**"Unless we act now to address the mental-health needs associated with the pandemic, there will be enormous long-term consequences for families, communities and societies."**

### Examining the past

Mikel Jollett, author of *Hollywood Park* and front man of the band Airborne Toxic Event, grew up in a cult in which the kids were taken from their parents at 6 months old. When his own son reached that age, it hit him just how wrong that was. **"It was violent and destructive," he writes. "It left every child this happened to a lifetime of insecurity, a fear of closeness."**

### Think before you speak

If you know a member of the Class of 2020, stop yourself before you ask about their plans, suggests TIME national correspondent Charlotte Alter. **"Most recent college graduates are already hearing, 'What's next?' echoing through their minds every waking hour of their postcollege life."**



## THE RISK REPORT

# Trump's effort to expand the G-7 is doomed to fail

By Ian Bremmer



PRESIDENT TRUMP'S plans to host a summit of leaders of the G-7 group of industrialized nations this month was put to rest when German

Chancellor Angela Merkel waved him off. Coronavirus concerns made it impossible for her to confirm her attendance, she said. Trump then announced the gathering would be delayed until September, and if the story had ended there, it wouldn't have made much news.

But this was not going to be an ordinary G-7 summit. Instead, the U.S. President also announced plans to rewrite the guest list. "I don't feel that as a G-7 it properly represents what's going on in the world," Trump told reporters. "It's a very outdated group of countries." He has a point. Gone are the days when the U.S., the U.K., France, Germany, Italy, Japan and Canada could credibly claim to represent the world's advanced economies, much less to set an international agenda. The rise of China, in particular, but also the emergence of countries like India, South Korea, Brazil, Russia, Turkey and others have long made the G-7 look like a country-club board meeting.

Trump's solution: expand the group. "We want Australia, we want India, we want South Korea," Trump told reporters. "That's a nice group of countries right there." As host of this year's summit, the President has the right to send an invite to whomever he wants. But Trump was proposing what he called a "G-10 or G-11," a permanent expansion of the group. He has no power to do that by himself.

**SO, WHAT'S THE THINKING** behind the choice of those countries? An invitation to Indo-Pacific democracies India, South Korea and Australia is an attempt to confront and isolate China. If the G-7 is an institution designed

to promote democracy; freedoms of speech, assembly and religion; and free-market capitalism, then that idea makes good sense. China has emerged over the past 30 years as the world's most powerful police state, and its international influence now extends into every region of the world. An alliance of democracies designed to promote and defend democratic values and individual freedoms might be a worthy goal.

Unfortunately, Trump's plan won't work. First, the President also wants to include Russia. You might recall that Russia was invited to join the G-7 in 1997 but was ousted in 2014 in response to its invasion of Ukraine.

## **The President's response to ongoing civil unrest in the U.S. undermines his case against China**

Vladimir Putin has since made Crimea part of Russia, undermining any support in Europe for Russia's reinclusion in an alliance designed to promote and protect democracy. Trump's call for Russia's return was immediately rejected by both Britain and Canada. If the G-7 summit is held in the U.S. in September, and Russia is invited as a nonmember, prepare for the spectacle of a smiling Putin waving to cameras on the eve of a U.S. election.

Then there is the problem of Trump as messenger. The President's response to ongoing civil unrest in the U.S.—including his threat to use "vicious dogs" and the U.S. military against protesters—undermines his case against China. In this way, he's made China's latest messaging much easier. Hong Kong's Beijing-backed chief administrator pushed back hard on U.S. criticism of China's bid to impose a Beijing-sanctioned political order on the city: "There are riots in the United States, and we see how local governments reacted. And then in Hong Kong, when we had similar riots, we saw what position they adopted."

There are good counterarguments to make to that, but President Trump is the wrong leader to make them. □

## RELIGION

# Should churches reopen?

As churches debate whether to allow gatherings, I find myself caught between two viewpoints, both of which seem right. I understand that we need to be responsible and scrupulously careful. Church buildings are not an escape from the world but a bridgehead into it. I am appalled by reports of would-be devout people ignoring safety regulations because they believe that as Christians they are protected against disease.

But equally, by temporarily abolishing corporate worship and joining with others only on livestreamed services, Christians may seem to be agreeing that we are just like-minded individuals pursuing an arcane hobby.

Part of the answer to this conundrum might be to recognize the present as a time of exile. We find ourselves "by the waters of Babylon," confused and grieving for the loss of our normal life. We must, as Jeremiah said, settle down into this regime and "seek the welfare of the city" where we are. But let's not pretend it's where we want to be. —N.T. Wright, author of *God and the Pandemic*



An usher at the International Church of Las Vegas on May 31



LIFE

## The guilt of complaining about anything right now

By **Susanna Schrobsdorff**

WHEN FRIENDS ASK HOW WE'RE DOING, I ANSWER LIKE everyone else who has both a job and their health: I say I'm lucky and so grateful. Then I joke about how at the start of the stay-at-home orders, my kids and I divided up our 1,100-sq.-ft. apartment into quadrants like Berlin after the war. They are back home for all the reasons everyone's college-age children are home. And let's just say young adults are not the only ones who regress in this situation. I now have the emotional maturity of a 15-year-old, and the gray roots and stretchy pants of a woman who is a lot older than she thought she was at the start of this thing.

We have argued about who "borrowed," broke, threw away, ate, didn't wash, didn't empty or didn't refill almost everything. We do not agree on the definition of *loud* or *music* or *clean*. Nor are we aligned on what constitutes *news*, *socialism*, *democracy* or *old*. There are days when we dance and cook like the adorable quarantined people on Instagram—and other days when we snarl, make our own little parochial meals and litigate the chores.

My fear is that after all this forced togetherness, neither of my offspring will want to visit me when I'm in assisted living. And, given the trajectory of the economy, I'm just as afraid we may all be in this apartment together until then. Meanwhile, my compatriots with little kids can't even think that far ahead. They're just trying to get through the morning with everyone alive and fed. In their voices, I can hear the strain of holding on to gratitude and the weight of conflicting and unending responsibilities.

This unexpected squashing together of lives is like a functional MRI of our relationships with one another, and with ourselves. Wherever we go, there we are ... day after day. There's no distraction from the ragged bits of life we've neglected in the rush of our usual routines, whether it's the cracks in the foundation of the house or the fraying of a marriage. All of it is compounded by the madness of homeschooling while working twice as hard to keep the job you're lucky to have, or sole quarantining, or the co-parenting dance. Maybe we're not as strong or as good as we hoped we'd be when things got tough.

Of course, complaining about any of this feels ridiculous, shameful. So we start every confession about how we feel like we're falling apart with, "Relatively speaking ..." Or we go through a list of all the people who have it worse—and there are so many. I think of my friends who have been laid off, or the people in the food-bank lines, or the meatpacking workers risking their lives to supply the bacon in my sandwich. Every

choice is a moral dilemma.

And then there's a hospital not far from where I'm sitting, which still has a big refrigerated trailer connected to the building. I suspect they're leaving it there as a backup morgue for the expected fall resurgence of the virus. For now, we're here in limbo measuring time by the brutal ticktock of the news as the numbers of those who've died or lost their jobs keep rising. When will it end? How will it end? ... Will it end? And there's an undercurrent of collective mourning—if not for someone or something specific, then for the idea that we as a nation can prevent this kind of catastrophic loss.

**IT'S NOT A SHOCK** to learn that about a third of American adults have symptoms of clinical anxiety or depression, according to Census Bureau data looking at the effects of the pandemic.

Helplessness, the feeling of being stuck and anxiety about the future are textbook harbingers of mental distress. And there are no rules about who gets to acknowledge that distress. We have to find enough compassion for ourselves that we can admit it if we're not really O.K. and recognize that, even if we have our basic needs met, this can still be awful. It's not indulgent to mention it; it's smart to ask for help. This is as important as avoiding the virus because we'll need mind and body and soul to help each other through this marathon.

Sure, the lucky ones can still lead with a disclaimer—and yes, it is important to keep things in perspective. But to know gratitude is to be truly cognizant of what the stakes are, of what you could lose, of who you could lose. And that's never been more clear.

Speaking of that, my two humans are out there in the rubble of the living room with 4,301 dirty cups and whatever it was the dog tore up because *someone* left it out. If I can go clean up with more gratitude and less snark than usual, I'm going to count today as a win. □



**When will  
it end?  
How will  
it end? ...  
Will it end?**





## HEALTH

# Consumed by both grief and paperwork

By Daniel Jonce Evans

AFTER FINDING A PARKING SPACE, I SHIFTED MY MINIVAN into park. I sat still for a moment, a moment that allowed me to take a breath in relative silence. I checked to make sure the money was still there. Three crisp \$100 bills. It was the week before Christmas. My wife was still dead.

Rachel and I married in the fall of 2003. We had two children together, a son in 2016 and a daughter in 2018. Rachel died on May 4, 2019, at the age of 37, two weeks before our daughter's first birthday.

A half hour before my arrival at the parking lot, I was on the phone with a medical provider to whom I owed money. Was the remaining balance after the insurance payment negotiable? The voice on the other end—kind and patient—told me yes, if I paid in cash, it would be \$300. So I got the cash and drove to their office. Grief is a shadow always with me, but I pocketed the grief and pulled out the money.

The flash of recognition on the face of the woman behind the desk told me she belonged to the voice on the phone. I handed her the cash. One of her associates asked, “How many kids do you have?” I said two. He sighed. The woman handed the cash to her associate, who handed one of the bills back to me. “Buy something for the kids,” he said.

Today paramedics, EMTs, nurses, doctors, pharmacists, nurse practitioners and others are working around the clock to save people's lives at the same time understaffed, overloaded hospitals are run as profitmaking businesses instead of essential components of a social safety net. Health-insurance companies have fractured the billing landscape and obscured costs. Their employees spend hours helping mourning customers navigate incorrect “billing codes” and understand

their “explanation of benefits.”

At one point Rachel was transferred by helicopter between two hospitals, both in network with our insurance. Weeks later, I received a billing notice from the helicopter company. It didn't list an amount. I called. The person on the other end was polite, empathetic and hesitant to reveal the balance: \$69,999. Even though both hospitals were in network, the helicopter company wasn't. For months I got notices, each with a little helicopter icon above the step of the process. First it hovered over an “insurance denied” section. Later, after insurance paid \$8,000, I found it over a balance of \$61,999. I called again after receiving a “final notice,” and another empathetic person assured me that the balance would almost certainly be written off, since insurance had paid and Rachel was dead. I'm still waiting to find out.

**IN THE FLEETING MINUTES** I have between diaper changes, baths, meals and stories, my mind churns away at my family's loss. Rachel shouldn't be dead. Some things are wrong and won't ever be right. What can I do now? What can we do? Rachel gathered people together. We're relearning what a privilege gathering is. Perhaps we'll use this new wisdom wisely.

While the pandemic has been a reminder of how preposterous the system can be, it's also shone a light on how heroic some of our fellow humans are. We are also learning what shared grief looks like, and we should use this moment to fix the systems that make heartbreaking situations even more unbearable.

Systemic change is challenging because it spans multiple disciplines and political arenas. That's why it requires people working together. I can't single-handedly place my preferred politicians in office. But we can vote for candidates with specific plans to solve problems. I can't redirect the economy. But we can pressure companies and our government to use metrics of success beyond the bottom line. I can't fix health care. But we can support broad social solutions to broad social problems. We must separate criticisms of systems from antipathy toward individuals. We must view others through a lens of radical empathy. We must find meaning outside of our loss.

Evans is a writer in Dayton, Tenn.

*We're  
relearning  
what a  
privilege  
gathering is.  
Perhaps we'll  
use this new  
wisdom wisely*



## Facebook cannot fix itself

By Roger McNamee

IN A WEEK THAT SAW THE OFFICIAL DEATH TOLL FROM the COVID-19 pandemic in the United States surpass 100,000, when the number of applications for unemployment insurance exceeded 40 million and Americans were protesting in dozens of cities, President Trump launched an attack against social-media platforms, most notably Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. If it were to survive inevitable legal challenges, Trump's Executive Order would enable government oversight of political speech on Internet platforms. An order that claims to promote freedom of speech would actually crush it. The Executive Order is a mistargeted approach to a serious and nuanced problem.

Trump has long argued—without evidence—that Internet platforms are biased against conservative voices. In reality, conservative voices have thrived on these platforms. Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube have consistently allowed conservatives to violate their terms of service. Twitter recently fact-checked two of Trump's tweets that contained falsehoods, the first time it had done so, which appeared to trigger the Executive Order. Twitter subsequently issued a warning on a Trump tweet for endangering public safety. These actions were long overdue efforts to treat the President's posts the same as any other user's. At the same time, Facebook refused to take action with identical posts on its platform.

The President's Executive Order calls for changes to Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act of 1996, a law created to protect the nascent Internet's ability to moderate extreme, harmful and inflammatory content without fear of litigation. Internet platforms have interpreted Section 230 as providing blanket immunity, and the courts have concurred even in cases where their platforms directly facilitate terrorism, defamation, false information, communications between adolescents and alleged sexual predators, violations of fair-housing laws, and a range of other issues. The result is that Section 230 acts both as a protective barrier and a subsidy because platforms do not pay the cost of the damage they do.

As currently interpreted, Section 230 also protects Internet platforms from responsibility for amplifying content that potentially undermines our country's response to the COVID-19 pandemic and to protests against police brutality. At a time when facts may represent the difference between life and death, the most pervasive communications platforms in society enable the spread of disinformation. Tiny minorities have used Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and Twitter to help convert public-health remedies such as masks and social distancing into elements of the culture wars. These platforms have also played a central role in helping spread white supremacy, climate-change denial and the antivax campaign by giving disproportionate political power to small groups with extreme views. Thanks to the safe harbor of Section 230, Facebook has no



**Harmful  
content  
crowds out  
facts and  
expertise**

incentive to prevent right-wing militias and white supremacists from using its apps as organizing infrastructure.

The benefits of Internet platforms are evident to everyone with access to a computer or smartphone. But like the chemicals industry in the 1950s, Internet giants are exceptionally profitable because they do not pay any cost for the harm they cause. Where industrial companies dumped toxic chemicals in fresh water, Internet platforms pollute society with toxic content. The Internet is central to our way of life, but we have to find a way to get the benefits with fewer harms.

**FACEBOOK, INSTAGRAM, YOUTUBE,** Twitter and others derive their economic value primarily from advertising. They compete for your attention. In the guise of giving consumers what they want, these platforms employ surveillance to identify the hot buttons for every consumer and algorithms to amplify content most likely to engage each user emotionally. Thanks to the fight-or-flight instinct wired into each of





<  
*A notification from Twitter appears on a tweet by President Trump warning that it violated its policy on May 29*

**150M**

Number of Facebook and Instagram users who may have encountered Russian disinformation content on their feeds during the 2016 election

**70%**

False claims were this much more likely than the truth to be shared on Twitter, according to an MIT study

**500**

Number of suspected bots responsible for 22% of tweeted links to news sites while 500 real accounts generated 6% of tweets linking to the same outlets, according to Pew

us, some forms of content force us to pay attention as a matter of self-preservation. Targeted harassment, disinformation and conspiracy theories are particularly engaging, so the algorithms of Internet platforms amplify them. Harmful content crowds out facts and expertise.

Policymakers and users have asked repeatedly for years that the Internet platforms do a better job. It is clear that self-regulation has failed. There is no economic incentive to change behavior. They have made some half-hearted steps: Facebook and YouTube have hired thousands of underpaid and underresourced human moderators and invested in artificial intelligence. Twitter and Facebook have implemented fact-checking on an inconsistent basis. Twitter, YouTube and Facebook have banned some extremists, most notably the conspiracy theorist Alex Jones. Each platform cites impressive claims about the benefits of their actions, but the numbers do not tell the true story. Despite their professed diligence, we've seen the worst impulses of humanity continue to thrive.

**WITHOUT CHANGES** to Section 230, election interference will remain a central feature of our democracy and climate deniers will continue to sow confusion and white supremacists to spread fear. I would like to believe that we can enjoy the benefits of Internet platforms without suffering irreparable harm to democracy and public health.

But the goal of regulation should not be to ban speech. That would be contrary to the First Amendment and might further undermine democracy. Stanford researcher Renée DiResta frames the central challenge of reforming Section 230 as “free reach,” the perception by many, including the President, that all content is equally deserving of amplification. When platforms optimize algorithms for attention, or use their ample tools to allow targeting of harmful content to vulnerable communities, the benefits of amplification accrue disproportionately to harmful content.

Changes to Section 230 should be structured to encourage innovation and startups. The goal of any reform should be to limit the spread of harmful speech and conduct, and to restrict business models likely to enable harm.

Algorithms need not fill our feeds with targeted and dehumanizing disinformation and conspiracy theories. They do now because amplifying emotionally dangerous content is a choice made to maximize profits. There are many other ways to organize a news feed, the most basic of which is reverse chronological order. “Optimizing for engagement” undermines democracy and public health. It increases political polarization and fosters hostility to expertise and facts. It undermines journalism, not just by taking advertising dollars from the media but also by forcing news into an environment that discourages critical thinking—and by putting junk news, disinformation and harmful content on an equal footing with credible news sources.

The optimal solution is unlikely to be found at the extremes—the status quo or eliminating Section 230 altogether—but through modifications to create more constructive incentives. The protections of Section 230 should no longer apply to platforms that use algorithmic amplification for attention. It may be appropriate to extend the exception to all platforms above a certain size, measured either by revenue or users. If these changes were effective today, platforms like Twitter, Facebook and YouTube would potentially be liable for harms that result. To complement the changes to Section 230, there should be national legislation to give users the right to sue for damages if they have been harmed as a result of using an Internet platform. The goal of these reforms is to change behavior by changing incentives.

We cannot allow these technology platforms to continue to threaten the core tenets of our democracy or undermine our pandemic response and ability to protest peacefully. Reform should not be done out of spite or through poorly conceived Executive Orders, but in a way that will benefit all of us. President Trump has given us an opportunity to do the right thing. Just not the way he wants.

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*McNamee, the author of Zucked: Waking Up to the Facebook Catastrophe, is a co-founder of Elevation Partners and an early investor in Facebook*





SPECIAL REPORT | NATION

# UNDERLYING CONDITION



*At a demonstration near Barclays Center in Brooklyn on May 29, police began to pull a young protester from the crowd; the crowd pulled back*



ACROSS THE UNITED STATES, AMERICANS EMERGED FROM LOCKDOWN TO PROTEST THE DEATH OF GEORGE FLOYD—**AND A DEEPER NATIONAL SICKNESS**

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MALIKE SIDIBE FOR TIME



VIEWPOINT

# WE CANNOT WAIT FOR WHITE AMERICA TO END RACISM

BY EDDIE S. GLAUDE JR.

The images and the sounds of George Floyd continue to haunt. Media play them over and over again. It's part of a ritual practice, a way the nation manages its racist sins. People declare their outrage. They, mostly white

people, wonder how could this happen in today's America. The right-wing media decry it all as the violent nature of people who refuse to take personal responsibility. They defend the police. They condemn the violence. Civility matters more to them than justice.

I watched the video of George Floyd's murder and completely lost it. The stress of the times, combined with the cruelty of the act and Floyd's desperate plea, broke me. I found myself, which I rarely do, burying my head in my hands. Weeping. I thought about all the Black people who may watch the video in this pandemic and about the white people who ask the all-too-familiar questions about how we change.

We all heard the haunting repetition of the words *I can't breathe*. We saw former Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin sit there, smug, hand in his pocket, with little regard for the man dying underneath his knee.

Floyd's death has sparked outrage and protests. As people demanded the arrest of the officers involved, many wore masks and

tried to observe social distancing. COVID-19 hasn't stopped killing people. As a nation we have surpassed 100,000 dead, 40 million unemployed—and African Americans across the country have been disproportionately hit. The virus plunders lives, the police continue to kill, and people are angry.

**ANGER AND FEAR** make a combustible mixture. More than 140 cities have exploded since Floyd's death. Pundits and politicians have denounced the violence. Police have responded with violence of their own. Bracketing the tear gas and rubber bullets, the way the police have behaved toward the protesters reminds me of how they police Black communities. Contempt, spite and insult are felt in every encounter.

The anger results from accumulated grievance. George Floyd is just among the latest in a long list of our dead at the hands of police. He also serves as a proxy for the desperation and frustration caused by COVID-19. This kind of expression of anger is never just about the single incident; it carries with it every

moment in which the society has told people they are disposable. The horrors of the auction block, the brutality of the lynching tree, the back-breaking work of the cotton field and the slaughterhouses, the sounds of clanging chains on the chain gang, and the daily disregard fuel the rage.

The fires and looting announce a different kind of presence: those who were once silenced are now heard, and they are shouting across our sordid history at the top of their lungs, "Something has happened here," and they are not going to take it anymore. How does one live in such a time? What happens in your bones, on your insides, when you're ravaged by disease and hatred, and the anger threatens to consume you? For those African Americans who have lost loved ones and their jobs, who find themselves at food banks, who have to deal with the ongoing stress of a virus, how do you manage the trauma of the terror of seeing another Black person killed?

We're caught in a double bind. We need video footage to convince white America what is happening to us is

real. We have to see it. But the same footage then becomes the stuff of spectacle. In either case, we're left dealing with what white people think and confronting the undeniable fact that Black people are still being killed by police at alarming numbers. These days, I give less than a damn what white people think.

George Floyd's death







brings into full view the terror and trauma that shadow Black people's experiences in this country. COVID-19 has not changed that. In fact, terror, trauma and coronavirus are knotted together like a thick briar bush with thorns.

One wonders how we will survive it all. Will racism and disease finally choke the life out of this fragile experiment

in democracy? The answer to that question will depend, in part, on white America's willingness to leave the shibboleths of American racism behind—to give up this insidious belief that because they are white they ought to be valued more than others, and to stop consuming Black suffering like buttered popcorn at a movie. But we cannot wait

on them. Those of us who will dare to actually learn from our history must figure out how to be together differently in a New America.

*Glaude, a University Professor at Princeton, is the author of the forthcoming book **Begin Again: James Baldwin's America and Its Urgent Lessons for Our Own***

#### NEW YORK CITY

*A demonstrator spray-paints a poster of Derek Chauvin's knee on George Floyd's neck on May 31. "Out of nowhere, this guy pulled out a purple spray can and just started writing on it. These ladies were walking by and paused to look at it. They were looking at it, like, Is this to attack us or to stop us from being silent?" —Malike Sidibe, photographer*



## CHARLESTON, S.C.

*"This woman was displaying such frustration and raw emotion, chanting, 'NO JUSTICE, NO PEACE, BLACK LIVES MATTER.' No words could express how emotion-inducing these words felt from this young woman."*  
—Raven B. Greene

# THROUGH THEIR EYES

As people gathered in more than 150 cities to protest racism and injustice, most peacefully, TIME asked photographers who documented what was happening to tell us what they saw.



## DETROIT

*"I was drawn to Stacey Graham because I felt both her strength and sadness. She told me she lives in fear every day for her son and grandson. I thought of the hundreds of Black mothers grieving across America because their sons and daughters will never come home."* —Sylvia Jarrus



## MIAMI

*"We are fueled not solely by our own anger and exhaustion, but also that of those who have already fought this fight."* —Woosler Delisfort



**JUNCTION  
CITY, KANS.**  
“When I see this  
photo of Jason  
[Allende, with  
his mother and  
siblings], I think,  
We just need to  
stop the hate.  
Nobody’s asking  
for anything. We  
just want to live.”  
—Doug Barrett

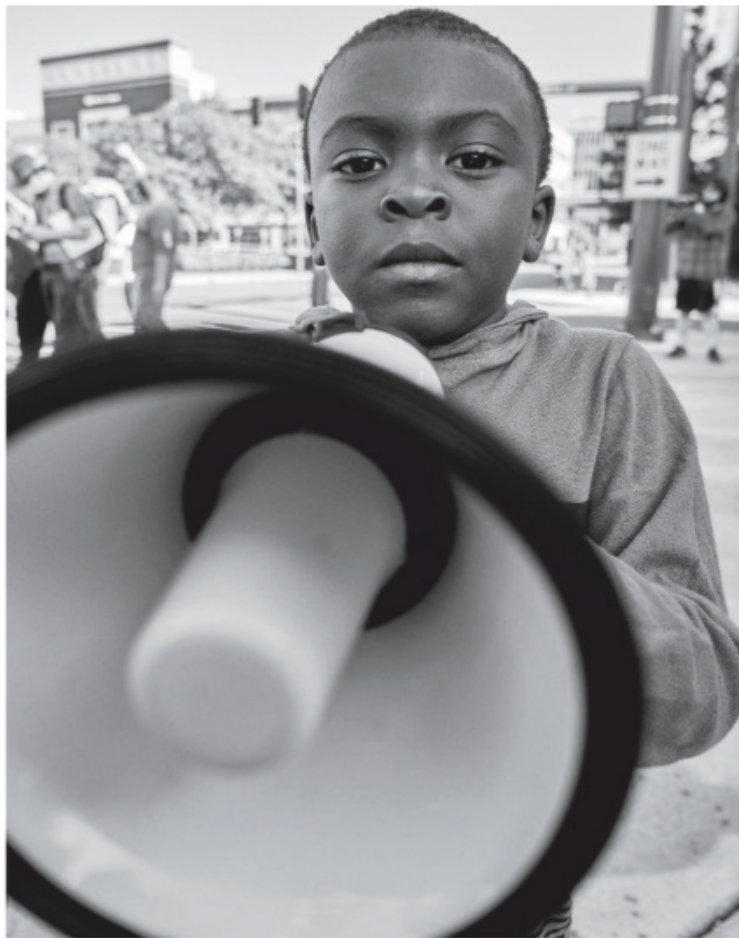




**FORT WAYNE, IND.**

*“There is so much hurt, frustration and pain right now that sometimes you have no words for it, but you can see it in their eyes. I wanted these photos to display that passion and intensity, because many of them feel unheard, and hopefully these images will speak for them.”*

—DJ E-Clyps



**LOUISVILLE, KY.**

*“We are participating in the birth of the largest civil rights movement in world history. Old, young, black and white, we gather to celebrate the lives of those lost to police brutality. We demonstrate the impending death of white supremacy.”*

—Jonathan Cherry



**BALTIMORE**

*“The activist demanded the police officers read every single name you see on this list. The Lieutenant Chief read every single name on that list. He named everyone from Tyrone West ... to Eric Garner to so many others.”*

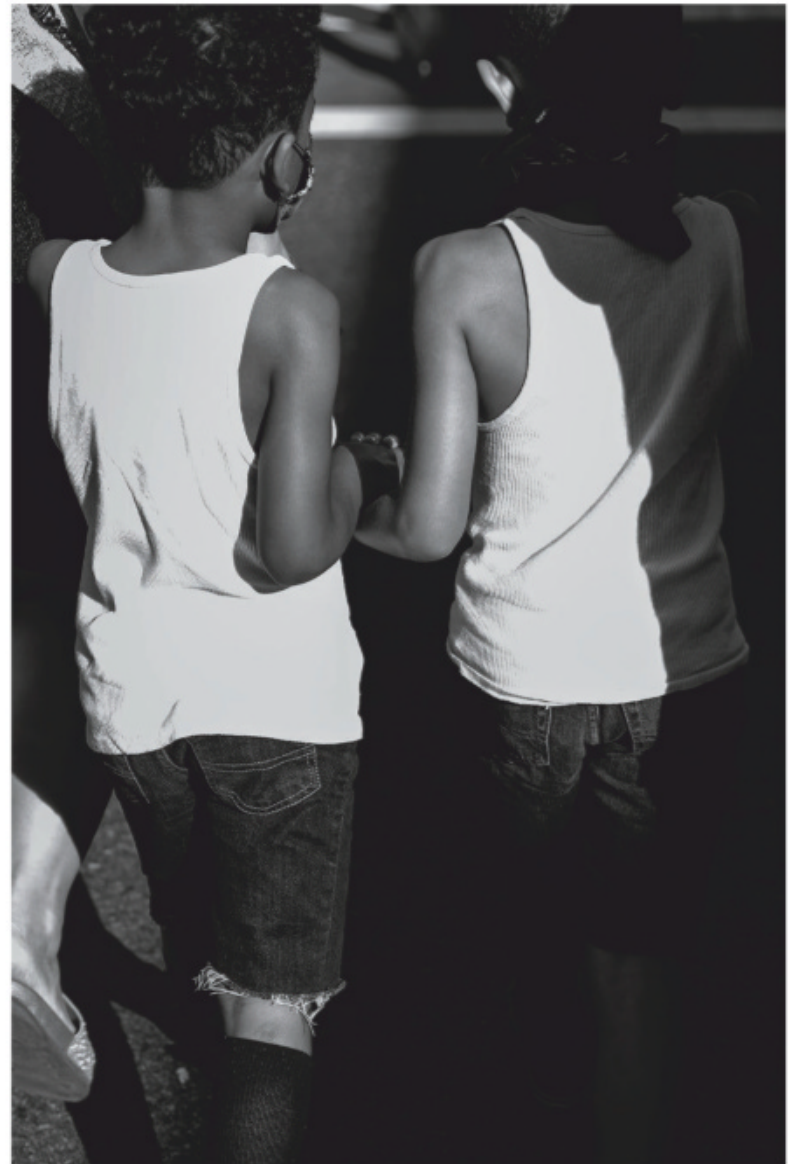






## ATLANTA

*"Being in the midst of the action and seeing so much passion for the cause to eradicate racism is addictive."*  
—Lynsey Weatherspoon



## LOS ANGELES

*"The love I have for every Black person who has marched, protested and organized, past and present, is what's keeping me together."*  
—Alexis Hunley





# THE PRESIDENT, THE PROTESTERS AND THE PLAGUE OF POLICE VIOLENCE

BY ALEX ALTMAN

The killing of George Floyd was shocking. But to be surprised by it is a privilege African Americans do not have.

A black person is killed by a police officer in America at the rate of more than one every other day. Floyd's death followed those of Breonna Taylor, an emergency medical technician shot at least eight times inside her Louisville, Ky., home by plainclothes police executing a no-knock warrant, and Ahmaud Arbery, killed in a confrontation with three white men as he jogged through their neighborhood in Brunswick, Ga. Even Floyd's anguished gasps were familiar, the same words Eric Garner uttered on a Staten Island street corner in 2014: "I can't breathe."

Yet the timing and cruelty of Floyd's death, captured in a horrific video that shows the white Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin casually kneeling on the victim's neck, has spurred a national uprising. Since Floyd died on May 25, demonstrations have erupted in scores of cities across the country as veteran activists and newfound allies alike rally to the cause of racial justice. The vast majority of the protests have been peaceful, with simple demands handwritten on torn pieces of cardboard. ENOUGH IS ENOUGH. STOP KILLING US. JUSTICE FOR GEORGE FLOYD. Those pleas have resonated around the world, producing expressions of solidarity from Europe to New Zealand.

The protests have also triggered civic unrest in America at a scale not seen since the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968. Protesters burned a police precinct in Minneapolis, torched cop cars in Los Angeles and Atlanta, and dodged plumes of tear gas from Tulsa, Okla., to Madison, Wis. By June 2, the National Guard had been activated in at least 28 states, and dozens of cities had imposed curfews to quell looting, arson and spasms of violence. Militarized police surged cruisers into crowds, fired rubber bullets at reporters and beat citizens peacefully exercising First Amendment rights.

For 2½ months, America has been paralyzed by a plague, its streets eerily empty. Now pent-up energy and anxiety and rage have spilled out. COVID-19 laid bare the nation's broader racial inequities. About 13% of the U.S. population are African Americans. But according to CDC data, 22% of those with COVID-19, and 23% of those who have died from it, are black. Some 44% of African Americans say they have lost a job or have suffered household wage loss, and 73% say they lack an emergency fund to cover expenses, according to the Pew Research Center. "It's either COVID is killing us, cops are killing us or the economy is killing us," says Priscilla Borkor, a 31-year-old social worker who joined demonstrations in Brooklyn on May 29.

If the video was the match and the coronavirus was the kindling, Donald Trump provided the kerosene. Since the start of his term, the President has turned the Oval Office into an instrument of racial, ethnic and cultural division. A man who both-sided a white-supremacist march, went to war with NFL players protesting police brutality, called African nations "sh-thole countries" and told American Congresswomen of color to "go back" to where they came from was never going to appeal for harmony now. As the Floyd protests spread, Trump called demonstrators "thugs," threatened them with "vicious dogs" and borrowed a phrase popularized by the Miami police chief Walter Headley in 1967: "When the looting starts, the shooting starts."

Given the tone from the top and the grassroots anger, it's a surprise this confrontation didn't come sooner. The movement for racial justice was arguably the biggest story in America before Trump came along. Black Lives Matter began as a protest cry and bloomed into a political force: activists won convictions and shaped federal policy, seeding their message across college campuses and popular culture, in legislation and presidential platforms.

It wasn't enough, but it was progress, and to many activists, Trump looks like white America's response. "Trump was elected in part because Black Lives Matter was winning," says Jessica Byrd of the Movement for Black Lives. "Trump was our punishment." If so, he was an effective one. The President pokes sore spots in the body politic so incessantly that no single cause can sustain the nation's attention. Protest is a

## NEW YORK CITY

*Demonstrators march in front of Trump Tower on May 30. "I would actually not like to experience any more of these uprisings. In an ideal world, there would be no need."*  
—Mark Clennon, photographer







performance, and the audience Black Lives Matter found during the tail end of the Obama Administration has been subsumed into the broader anti-Trump “resistance,” which pinballs between outrages: the Muslim ban, children in cages, impeachment. In a way, Black Lives Matter has been a victim of its own accomplishments: it articulated a language of subjugation that could be applied to causes such as immigration or gender or class. Systemic injustice became about everything, rather than the original thing, which was police killing black people.

That hasn’t stopped. From 2015 to 2019, according to statistics compiled by the Washington Post, police shot and killed 962 to 1,004 Americans each year. Black Americans are nearly three times as likely as white people to be killed by police, according to the database Mapping Police Violence. The killings are continuing apace this year. Except now it seems to many as if the nation has moved on. “For us to get the attention that we need, we’ve gotta set things on fire,” says James Talton, a 32-year-old New York fitness instructor. “Because it seems like nobody’s paying attention.”

Nationwide riots, a virus that has killed more than 100,000 Americans, a President threatening to unleash the military on citizens—how much more can the country bear? Every day in this awful, exhausting year feels like rock bottom, and then we tunnel further into some hideous crawl space. More than 40 million jobs have vanished in 10 weeks. One in four Americans is out of work. And the reckoning continues.

It feels both terrible and fitting that the struggle poised to define the final months before a bitterly divisive election is a conflict that dates to America’s founding, a force so powerful it can push even a once-in-a-century pandemic aside. Those who have fought for racial justice for years—for decades—are resolute. “I believe that we have been working these past four years to get back in the ring with Trump,” says Byrd. “And I truly believe that we will win.”

**GEORGE FLOYD DIED** at dusk on Memorial Day, outside the Cup Foods grocery store at East 38th Street and Chicago Avenue in South Minneapolis. Floyd had bought a pack of cigarettes with what the clerk suspected was a counterfeit \$20 bill. Three squad cars converged to confront him as he sat in the driver’s seat of a blue Mercedes SUV.

Derek Chauvin’s was the last to arrive. Since joining the Minneapolis police force in 2001, Chauvin has been the subject of at least 17 conduct complaints, almost all of which were closed without discipline, according to city records. He was involved

in at least three cases in which a police officer shot a civilian. Another of the officers involved in Floyd’s arrest, Tou Thao, was the subject of at least six complaints, five of which resulted in no discipline (one is still under investigation). In 2017, Thao was sued in federal court for excessive use of force over allegations he beat up a suspect during an arrest. The city settled for \$25,000, according to a legal filing. (Attorneys for Chauvin and Thao did not respond to requests for comment.)

Chauvin and Thao are just the start. A review of federal and city records reveal a broader picture of impunity within the Minneapolis police department. A 2015 report by the U.S. Justice Department found that only 21% of conduct complaints against Minneapolis police were ever investigated. Only 13 out of nearly 1,200 complaints processed from October 2012 to September 2015 resulted in discipline,

according to local news reports. In most of those cases, the police officer in question was sent for “coaching.”

What disciplinary structures do exist are weak. The department’s office of police conduct review can only make a recommendation to the chief, whose own decisions can be reversed. “I have seen so many instances where the chief imposed discipline and an officer was fired, only to have it overturned or reduced,” says Teresa Nelson, legal director of the ACLU in Minnesota.

For two decades, federal officials repeatedly recommended reforms to increase accountability, curb use-of-force violations and build up community trust, according to more than half a dozen government reports. But Minneapolis lagged behind most other metro police departments in implementing them. Experts say the department stands out for the permissive language of its guidance, which notes that the unconscious neck restraint can be used if the subject is “exhibiting active aggression” or “active resistance.”

The results have been evident on the streets. Since 2015, Minneapolis police have rendered people unconscious with neck restraints like the one Chauvin applied to Floyd at least 44 times, according to an NBC News analysis; in three-fifths of those cases, the subject was black. Black residents were about nine times more likely than whites to be arrested for low-level offenses, according to a recent ACLU study. “People in this community have been very concerned about the Minneapolis police department for a long, long time,” says Hans Lee, a pastor at Calvary Lutheran Church. “It was a tinderbox.”

Police brutality has also made Minneapolis a locus of racial-justice activism. After the 2014 killings of Garner on Staten Island and Michael

**NATIONWIDE RIOTS,  
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CITIZENS—HOW  
MUCH MORE CAN  
THE COUNTRY BEAR?**



Brown in Ferguson, Mo., protesters occupied the Mall of America and shut down freeways. In November 2015, after Jamar Clark, an unarmed black man, was shot and killed in North Minneapolis, protesters established an encampment outside a nearby precinct for 18 days. The following year, after Philando Castile was shot in a Minneapolis suburb by police during a confrontation livestreamed in part by his girlfriend, activists thronged the governor's mansion for weeks.

Like the rest of America, Minneapolis activists have faced new challenges under Trump. The 45th President has exacerbated the tensions between police and communities across the country, unwinding some of the key criminal-justice reform measures that President Obama had championed. Trump's first Attorney General, Jeff Sessions, reinstated a program that allowed the Pentagon to send state and local police forces surplus military equipment like armored vehicles, grenade launchers, bayonets and battering rams. Sessions restricted the Obama Administration's use of consent decrees, which are court-ordered agreements to overhaul local police departments accused of abuses and civil rights violations. He also scaled back a voluntary program Obama created to help reform police departments.

**SHORTLY AFTER 5 P.M.** on June 1, a line of nine military trucks carrying National Guard troops in helmets and tan camouflage uniforms slowly rolled onto the White House grounds and down a narrow alley near the West Wing. The trucks' canvas tops passed just below the windows of the offices of the President's chief of staff, Vice President and National Security Adviser, and turned along a fence line typically filled with tourists snapping selfies before the building's iconic North Portico.

The rare display of military might outside the seat of American power was only the beginning. "I am your President of law and order," Trump declared in the Rose Garden, just before curfew descended on Washington on the seventh night of national unrest. Trump threatened to deploy "thousands and thousands" of "heavily armed" military personnel to quash the protests. As he spoke, officers fired rubber bullets and sprayed chemicals to disperse demonstrators outside the White House gates. Shortly after, twin-engine UH-60 Black Hawk and UH-72 Lakota helicopters swept just above the tree line over the capital's streets, buzzing a crowd of protesters with a downwash of air, debris and fuel exhaust in an apparent "show of force," a maneuver used to cow insurgents in combat zones.

Trump's aides believe the confrontations will play to the President's political advantage in the run-up to the November elections. The unrest "really makes you want tough, Republican leadership," a White House official says. "People do not want their streets

to be lit on fire." Campaign advisers see in the chaos a reprise of 1968, when Richard Nixon successfully courted white voters with coded racism against African Americans after years of sporadic urban rioting.

Not all Republicans are convinced. "Trump's re-election chances are going down in flames," says Dan Eberhart, a Republican donor and Trump supporter. "It's hard to see how these riots don't boost Joe Biden's claim to be the Alka-Seltzer America needs to soothe its stomach right now." Stuart Stevens, a Trump critic who served as chief strategist to 2012 Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney, notes that Trump won in 2016 with 46% of the vote because nonwhite turnout declined for the first time in 20 years. "You can call them protests, but you could also call them nonwhite voter-turnout rallies," Stevens says of the racial-justice demonstrations. "It's hard to imagine anything that's going to be more motivating."

Even before Floyd's death, race relations in America were regressing. Trump has emboldened a burgeoning white-supremacist movement. Hate-crime violence reached a 16-year high in 2018. Roughly two-thirds of Americans told Pew Research Center last year that expressions of racism have grown more common during his term. "There is literally a brewing civil war that is happening," says Alicia Garza, one of the founders of Black Lives Matter.

But moments of grace have emerged from the miasma of pain and despair. In Camden, N.J., police locked arms with activists and marched along with them. In Flint, Mich., the Genesee County sheriff removed his riot gear, laid down his weapons and embraced protesters. From Fayetteville, Ark., to Omaha, police took a knee in solidarity.

Two hours before Trump left the White House for a photo op at a burned church, before the sting of noxious chemicals wafted across Lafayette Square and a line of officers on horseback charged peaceful protesters, Anya Colon stood in sight of the White House columns, holding a Black Lives Matter poster. Her grandmother had marched in Selma, Ala., in 1965 to push local authorities to allow black people to vote. Now Colon, 38, had driven seven hours from Rome, N.Y., spurred by a sense of duty. "Trump catalyzed a lot of racism," she says. "We have to do some things that make change. This marching has been going on for decades. I had to be here. Something from inside my gut drove me and pulled me here." She had come with her cousin Iliana Arthur, 41. Arthur also held a sign. It read: WE MATTER. —*With reporting by ALANA ABRAMSON, BRIAN BENNETT, TESSA BERENSON, VERA BERGENGRUEN, PHILIP ELLIOTT and LISSANDRA VILLA/WASHINGTON; and JASMINE AGUILERA, CHARLOTTE ALTER, JOSIAH BATES, PAUL MOAKLEY and OLIVIA B. WAXMAN/NEW YORK* □



# A CITY MOBILIZED

BY JOSIAH BATES AND LISSANDRA VILLA

On the evening of May 25, longtime activist Sandra Richardson took a walk with her husband in the Minneapolis neighborhood where she grew up. What she didn't realize until the next morning was that while she was out, a black man named George Floyd was dying just blocks away.

Richardson later watched the video of Floyd's death in horror, like millions of others. She wasn't surprised when her hometown erupted in mass protest soon after. For years, a tireless network of local activists and organizers have been fighting against systemic police brutality they say is symptomatic of broader racial-injustice issues that go back generations. They've held press conferences. They've gone to city-council meetings. They've lobbied the state legislature. And they've cautioned about what could happen if officials didn't tackle the twin crises of economic disparity and police aggression. "If you talk to enough people in Minneapolis, it wasn't *if* this was going to happen. It was *when*," says Richardson. "You can only demean people so much until they respond."

When the Black Lives Matter movement took off after Eric Garner and Michael Brown were killed by police in 2014, Minnesotans staged

solidarity demonstrations. Protests broke out again in 2015 and 2016, when police shot and killed two black men, Jamar Clark and Philando Castile, in the Minneapolis area.

Neither case ended in an officer's conviction, but the men's deaths led to a groundswell of organizing. Local groups sprouted up, like the Twin Cities Coalition for Justice 4 Jamar and MPD150, a loose collection of activists that supports dismantling the police force. While some of the groups that originally led the 2014 protests, like Black Lives Matter Minneapolis, have since disbanded, many individuals who were part of that first wave are still involved today. "We've been doing anti-police-brutality organizing in Minneapolis pretty much straight since Jamar Clark's killing in 2015," says Tony Williams, an MPD150 contributor and member of Reclaim the Block, a group that focuses on policy advocacy.

"We realized that this place could be a flash point."

Minnesota is often touted as one of the best places to live in the U.S., cloaked in a reputation of "Midwest nice." But the state has one of the largest poverty gaps between white and black residents in the country, according to research by the *Star Tribune* newspaper. That disparity has been compounded by coronavirus: as of June 2, black or African-American residents account for at least 22% of the state's COVID-19 cases, though they make up just 7% of the state's population. "People are already trapped in poverty. You combine COVID-19 with something like this, and people are going to react," says Marjaan Sirdar, a local activist against police violence who has worked with Reclaim the Block. "They don't have anything to lose."

**AFTER FLOYD'S DEATH,** Minneapolis activists once again swung into action, organizing demonstrations and

distributing supplies to the protest front lines. While they all work on fighting police brutality, the groups have different ideas about how to tackle the problem. Some, like Racial Justice Network, challenge local leadership; the group protested Senator Amy Klobuchar's criminal-justice record during her presidential run.

Other groups believe "defunding" the police, either by reducing the budget for the city's police department or working toward a "police-free future," is the best way to protect the black community. Since Floyd's death, Reclaim the Block has called on the city council to cut \$45 million from the police budget and invest it in communities of color. "We can build this city up if we invest in our community and in community-led infrastructure instead of racist policing," says Miski Noor, a member of Black Visions Collective.

Activists across the city agree that the most urgent issue is increasing accountability when police officers kill black men and women. The fact that neither Clark's nor Castile's case resulted in a conviction is part of a broader pattern: 99% of U.S. police officers involved in killings from 2013 to 2019 did not face charges, according to Mapping Police Violence. "Unless you change the accountability of the police department, then nothing is going to happen," says William Green, a history professor at Minneapolis' Augsburg University who has studied the city's civil rights history. "I hope that policymakers can man up or woman up and make those hard decisions to commit themselves to sustained efforts to change." □



**Patience Zalanga is a photographer and shelter advocate in Minneapolis** who documents marches, protests and activists across the country. “The city of Minneapolis now has to reconcile with the fact that this is what happens when you ignore the voices of marginalized groups,” she says. “The collective outrage in our city has reached its threshold.”



*Zalanga's images of Minneapolis after Floyd's death, clockwise from top: protesters outside the 3rd Police Precinct; a woman speaks to a crowd on the street; protesters help each other with face masks; a child's drawing*



## VIEWPOINT

## THERE IS NO RIGHT WAY TO FIGHT FOR YOUR LIFE

By Mikki Kendall

AS PROTESTS SPRING UP ACROSS the country and around the world in response to the video of George Floyd's murder, there seems to be some confusion about why this moment, this death at the hands of police, has sparked so much outrage. And if it were an isolated incident, that would make sense. But Black death at the hands of the state is unfortunately at least as American as apple pie.

Throughout our lives, Black Americans are dehumanized, treated as unequal, deemed less valuable by the systems that purport to be for all people. Black life is so utterly disregarded that many Americans seem to have normalized the idea that someone deserves to die for possibly using a counterfeit \$20 bill to buy cigarettes. Or being asleep in their own home, as Breonna Taylor was when police killed her in March. Or coming from an impoverished community. Or not having the resources financially or physically to survive a natural disaster or a pandemic.

Today, we're talking about America failing to keep its promises to itself about being the land of the free by examining once again this awful legacy of racism and brutality in policing. Sadly, this is just one example of America failing its own people. Black Americans are more likely to be unemployed, and those who do have jobs earn less than their white peers and are more likely to work in jobs only now deemed "essential" that expose them to serious health risks. Black Americans are dying from COVID-19 at disproportionate rates, but even before the pandemic hit, our health outcomes were not

good: we have the highest maternal mortality rates and are more likely to have diabetes and high blood pressure. We also have a poverty rate more than double that of white Americans.

None of this is coincidence. Despite claims that Black people in America are not trying hard enough, a lack of individual effort is not the issue. Instead, structural barriers, coupled with racism and indifference, continue to hold Black people back. Black lives matter—even those lives that do not fit into a narrow mold of respectability—but many people don't believe that they do, at least not as much as other lives.

If we are to change things, communities that lack basic resources must have their needs met rather than being told that wanting an equal playing field is asking for a handout. Police reform must go beyond implicit-bias training and into demilitarization and defunding. The criminal-justice system must cease to be Big Business, relying on private policing and private jails. We have created systems of oppression, and then we object when the targets of that oppression dare to say they have a right to exist, to be safe, to not be killed on a whim.

At some point, America will stop lying to itself, not just about the history of oppression inside and outside our borders, but also about current events. Sometimes, hate wears a white hood. Sometimes, it is in a police uniform. American exceptionalism will not save us from the impact of fascism, and despite every victim-blaming narrative that positions the protests now as being excessive, the reality is that there is no right way to fight for your life and the lives of those you love. If Blackness, Black people and Black culture were erased, not only would the world be poorer for it, but no one left would be any safer. They would just be the next target.

*Kendall is the author of Hood Feminism: Notes From the Women That a Movement Forgot*

## VIEWPOINT

## WHY ARE BLACK WOMEN STILL AN AFTERTHOUGHT?

By Brittney Cooper

BREONNA TAYLOR WAS AN ESSENTIAL worker. An EMT with aspirations to be a nurse, she was one of the people whose daily labor of keeping people safe we have come to value anew in the age of COVID-19. In March, Louisville, Ky., police officers killed her after their choice to serve a no-knock warrant in plain clothes after midnight was met with gunfire by her boyfriend, who was startled by the intruders. Investigations are ongoing, but no charges have been brought against the officers.

In a country reeling from being involuntary witnesses to the murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis police, Breonna Taylor's death does not fit the spectacular forms of police killing that we have come to associate with America's nefarious lynching past. As such, the Louisville protests on her behalf after Floyd's death were belated attempts to rectify and recognize the ways that Black women are rarely the first thought in our outrage over police shootings. But Black women are surely worthy of more than secondary outrage. Rendering Black women as the afterthought in matters of police violence necessitated the creation of the Say Her Name campaign in 2015, a perennial reminder that Black women are victims of state violence too.

Why does it remain so difficult for outrage over the killing of Black women to be the tipping point for national protests challenging state violence?

One argument is that the spectacle of video makes our outrage easier to access. We watched men like Eric Garner, Walter Scott and Philando Castile get killed by police on video while doing nothing that warranted lethal force or any force at all. Those killings, displaying the officers' clear disregard of Black life and distrust of Black people's intentions, conjure racial terrors of old—of



men hunted, paraded, humiliated and murdered for sport, often by police or with police as willing spectators or participants. But when Black women and girls like Aiyana Stanley-Jones, Tanisha Anderson, Atatiana Jefferson and Charleena Lyles are killed, it is often out of the public eye. And in a world where the pains and traumas that Black women and girls experience as a consequence of both racism and sexism remain structurally invisible and impermeable to broad empathy, these killings recede from the foreground quietly.

To blame this lack of public focus on a lack of video is disingenuous given that the Black Lives Matter movement exploded in the wake of two killings for which there was no filmed evidence: those of Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown. Instead, there is an extant narrative that helps us understand, even if uncomfortably, why Black men keep getting killed.

That narrative also allows for other actors besides Black male victims and cops who kill. In late May in Central Park, when Christian Cooper took a video of Amy Cooper threatening to call the cops on him—"an African-American man"—the lynching script of lying white women putting Black men in mortal danger for their own nefarious purposes flashed before our eyes. The murder of George Floyd merely confirmed what Black people have always known, and what Amy Cooper demonstrated that plenty of white people know too: that the cops routinely harm Black people for the thinnest of reasons or no reasons at all.

But at no point in our replaying of the lynching script, what with its accreting Black male victims, overzealous cops and devious white women, do we ever think about how Black women fit into the story. Femininity is a weapon only if you're white. Black women have no such protections. Breonna Taylor's boyfriend tried to take care of his partner but could not.

We keep missing the intersection of race and gender when it comes to Black women. But right there at that intersection stands a 17-year-old Black girl named Darnella Frazier. She filmed George Floyd's murder. Like Ida B. Wells before her, she bore



#### SUMMERVILLE, S.C.

*"When I saw this mother and daughter protesting, I thought, When will it ever end?"*

—Brandon Scott, photographer

witness to the extralegal killing of a Black man, and made sure the world heard the story. For her trouble, she experienced online harassment from people who wondered why she didn't "do more." I wonder why Derek Chauvin's colleagues didn't do more.

Like Rachel Jeantel, Trayvon Martin's classmate and friend who was forced to listen to him being brutally attacked while she talked to him on the phone—only to be subject to derision and harassment both by white audiences who called her unintelligent because of a speech impediment and Black audiences who were ashamed of her for not being articulate enough—here is

another Black girl, calling the nation to account. There is nothing we can do for Breonna Taylor now, save pursuing justice for her family and remembering her life. But for Darnella Frazier, for Rachel Jeantel, there is everything left to do. We must begin by recognizing that they are worthy of care, love and outrage too. But in order to do that, we have to commit to seeing Black women and girls, whether they are sleeping in their beds, chatting with a friend or holding the camera, pleading with the police.

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*Cooper is the author of Eloquent Rage: A Black Feminist Discovers Her Superpower*



World

# CAUGHT IN THE M

Hong Kong may be the first victim of the great U.S.-China power struggle

BY LAIGNEE BARRON

*The Kowloon district of Hong Kong, during a pro-democracy gathering in September*

PHOTOGRAPH BY  
ANTHONY WALLACE



***IDDL E***





## ***THE PROTESTERS DIDN'T EXPECT TO BE BACK ON THE STREETS SO SOON.***

Life in Hong Kong had only just started to resemble a new normal after the threat of the pandemic subsided. But there they were again on May 24, dressed in black, ready for the storm brewing. “This is a fresh hell,” says Sukie, 25, who asked to use only her nickname for safety reasons.

After almost a year of widespread, sometimes violent pro-democracy protests in the former British colony, China had announced sweeping new security measures that will prevent and punish any secession, subversion, terrorism or foreign interference in Hong Kong. Successive city leaders refrained from passing such a law in fear of demonstrations, and so Beijing bypassed the legislature to impose the bill itself. In the rest of China, these kinds of measures are regularly leveled to stifle dissent. The intent is clear, says Willy Lam, a political analyst at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. “Control is the No. 1 consideration.”

The law, which could be enacted by late June, is poised to curtail the liberties that set Hong Kong—long a conduit between East and West—apart from the mainland; its free speech, free assembly and independent judiciary. It also opened another front in China’s ongoing conflict with the U.S., after three years of bruising disputes on trade, espionage and intellectual property.

In response, the Trump Administration announced Hong Kong was no longer a free city, and pledged to revoke its preferable exemptions on trading, customs, travel and more. The world once had a “sense of optimism that Hong Kong was a glimpse into China’s future,” President Donald Trump said on May 29, “not that Hong Kong would grow into a reflection of China’s past.”

In the past few months, tensions between the U.S. and China have dramatically worsened. A relationship that has swung between outbreaks of hostility and grudging collaboration is now settling into long-term estrangement. At the end of May, Trump signed a major China policy document that argues 40 years of U.S. engagement with China has failed to produce the “citizen-centric, free and open rules-based order” the U.S. hoped it would. The following week, the Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi fired



back that it was “wishful thinking for the U.S. to change China,” and accused Washington of attempting to foment a “new cold war.”

The pandemic is the backdrop to these tensions. While China’s President Xi Jinping hopes to rile up nationalism at home to distract from the economic wreckage wrought by the coronavirus, Trump is turning to anti-China sentiment to shift focus from his own response to the outbreak. Hong Kong, about which the U.S. President has previously said little, offers a new line of attack. “Trump is hardly a crusader for liberal democratic values,” Orville Schell, the director of the Center on U.S.-China Relations at the Asia Society, tells TIME. “But he is dedicated to blaming China as a way to escape the burdens of his own irresponsibility.”

On one side is the world’s leading superpower, and on the other its rising challenger. Caught in the middle is Hong Kong, whose mostly young protesters have come to symbolize resistance to the Communist Party. The week Beijing announced plans to rein





in the city, thousands defied social-distancing rules and police orders to disperse to take to the streets once again. Their chants of “stand with Hong Kong” and the answering cloud of bitter tear gas recalled the upheaval of last year. But no one could deny the stakes have dramatically increased. “There is no middle ground anymore,” says Chloe, 25, a teacher. “Either we accept being integrated into China now, or we become independent.”

**FOR MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY**, observers have been pronouncing the end of Hong Kong—most recently, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, who on May 22 called the national-security law a “death knell” for the city. Local activists marked the handover from Britain with funeral rites back in 1997, when Hong Kong was grafted back onto China under a “one country, two systems” formula designed to preserve its legal and political systems within an authoritarian state.

This arrangement was forged by the reform-

Police circle detainees near the city’s legislature on May 27, as the debate over the national-security bill was set to resume

minded leader Deng Xiaoping at a time when many believed China would eventually embrace democracy. The West has long seen Hong Kong, where English is widely spoken and Western ideals embraced, as “a catalyst of democratic values” in China, as President Bill Clinton put it in 1993.

Hong Kong flourished as a gateway to China’s growing economic engine, becoming a base for international and local companies wanting access to the world’s top trading nation without the party-controlled courts and bureaucratic red tape. By 2001, around a quarter of China’s imports and 40% of its exports were handled through Hong Kong.

Politically, Beijing promised the city a “high degree of autonomy” for 50 years after the handover, until 2047. But the city has always been uneasy under the Communist Party’s rule. Promised democratic reforms, including direct elections for the city’s leader, were never realized, while the Hong Kong government aligned itself ever more closely with Beijing. An attempt to insert a “national education” into the school curriculum was jettisoned only after hunger strikes and demonstrations in 2012. Booksellers who published salacious tomes about the party leadership vanished in 2015, reappearing on state-run television issuing confessions.

Things came to a head in 2019, when an extradition bill perceived to hand authority to Beijing inspired massive popular protests that flared into several months of violent unrest. The national-security law is just the latest “milestone” in a long erosion of freedoms, says Bao Pu, a Hong Kong-based publisher and political commentator. “At present, even if they don’t pass the security law, the old way of life, it’s over, it’s long been over,” he says.

Disillusionment with Beijing has calcified a distinct identity among Hong Kongers. This is particularly galling to Xi, who has pursued the “great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.” Hong Kong protesters have not only rejected this vision but also solicited assistance from the U.S. and the U.K. Few believe independence is feasible, but they see calling for it as a way to express their angst about the national-security law.

The legislation will permit the mainland’s feared security agencies to establish permanent operations in Hong Kong for the first time, instead of working secretly. Prominent protesters fear arrest by secret police and trial and imprisonment in Beijing. Many have started scouring their social-media accounts, deleting posts they fear could be incriminating once the law comes into force.

Some in the city are eyeing the exits. Migration consultancies say they are overwhelmed by the sudden volume of inquiries. Taiwan has promised “rescue and possibly residency” for Hong Kongers escaping political oppression, while the U.K. has offered 2.9 million of its former subjects safe harbor. “We





▲  
A couple on the  
boardwalk of  
Victoria Harbour,  
where tourists enjoy  
a nightly light show,  
on May 28

will honor our obligations,” Prime Minister Boris Johnson wrote in an op-ed on June 3.

The Trump Administration’s move was designed to hurt Chinese business. The enclave’s special status allows Beijing to attract foreign funds. In the first eight months of 2019, China received \$62.9 billion in foreign direct investment via Hong Kong, accounting for 70% of the total inflows. Any threat to such a vital financing channel risks destabilizing China’s already slowing economy.

But removing the city’s special status could also diminish its attraction as a global hub. Analysts say companies may uproot from Hong Kong to Singapore or Vietnam. Sources within two major law firms and an international media company told TIME the situation has accelerated contingency planning to relocate, though executives at other firms voiced hopes the national-security law would return stability to Hong Kong and thus to inward investment. A survey of 180 companies by the American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong in early June found that almost 30% were considering moving business operations, capital or assets, but a majority of correspondents said they had no personal plans to leave the city.

Experts say the Trump Administration’s actions could ultimately accelerate Beijing’s ability to consolidate control over Hong Kong, while also hurting

U.S. business interests. According to the U.S. Consulate in Hong Kong, 1,300 U.S. companies have offices in the city. “Paradoxically, if we eliminate our special relationship with Hong Kong, it makes Hong Kong more integrated into the Chinese system, not less,” says Susan Shirk, a former State Department official who chairs the 21st Century China Center at University of California, San Diego.

For some of the more hawkish figures in Washington, that appears to be a regrettable side effect. Republican Senator Marco Rubio, acting chair of the powerful Senate Intelligence Committee, urged U.S. businesses to leave the territory, and said eventually China’s interference will make it imperative. “Alternatives exist all over the world from Taiwan and Malaysia to Ireland and Mexico. Supply chains can adjust,” he said in a statement to TIME. “When the [Communist Party of China’s] vision of security is implemented, Hong Kong can no longer serve as a trusted intermediary between China and the world.”

**WHILE BEIJING’S HARDER LINE** toward Hong Kong reflects its impatience with the protest movement, it is also part of a pattern of aggression in the weeks after China’s apparent recovery from the coronavirus. Chinese troops repeatedly crossed the contested border with India in May, and clashed with Indian



troops. The Chinese navy has stepped up patrols in the South China Sea, and sank a fishing boat off the coast of Vietnam in April.

The U.S. has responded in kind, deploying warships off China's southern coast and increasing naval exercises in disputed waters. The two powers have also engaged in a war of words over Taiwan, the self-ruled island Beijing claims is part of its territory. China's Ministry of Defense expressed "strong dissatisfaction" after Pompeo congratulated Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen on her inauguration last month, and days later one of the country's most senior generals explicitly threatened to absorb the island by force. "Chinese aggression is not always just rhetorical," Alice Wells, a senior U.S. diplomat, said during a recent press briefing. "We continue to see provocations and disturbing behavior by China that raises questions about how China seeks to use its growing power."

The 2020 U.S. election threatens to compound this new environment of uncertainty and belligerence, as President Trump and Democratic candidate Joe Biden trade attacks over who has been softer on China. Still, the talk of a new cold war, with its implication of a conventional or nuclear military confrontation, is overblown, current and former U.S. and other officials say. Today's battlefields are not literal but technological, its front lines 5G, AI and the supply chains along which trade and investment flow. The balance of power between Washington and Beijing today is also more level than the one between a booming U.S. and a fading USSR that had only military power.

Another comparison might be the Great Game, the 19th century trade-oriented rivalry between Britain and Russia, the two superpowers at the time. The legacy of that dispute is still visible today in war-plagued Afghanistan and in the continuously disputed region of Kashmir. Whenever and however great powers clash, there are victims left behind.

Hong Kong may yet be one of them. The pro-democracy activists here are trying to figure out their next moves. Years of peaceful demonstrations were ignored by the city's government. The increasingly violent iterations over the past year drew Beijing's ire. Now, dissenters will have to shift to new tactics as they contend with the unyielding Chinese government rather than its local proxies. Many hope the U.S. and its allies will help them push back.

"I hope Western countries can see that sooner or later conflict with China is inevitable," says Cheung, a 50-year-old broadcast employee whose Sunday shopping was interrupted by police clearing a protest. "Hong Kong stood up ... The rest of the world will have to stand up too at some point." —*With reporting by* KIMBERLY DOZIER *and* JOHN WALCOTT/ WASHINGTON; AMY GUNIA/HONG KONG; *and* CHARLIE CAMPBELL/SHANGHAI

## THE PROSPERITY OF HONG KONG IS BASED ON ITS AUTONOMY

By Joshua Wong and Glacier Kwong

By passing the resolution to develop legislation to "safeguard national security," Beijing has initiated "political mutual destruction" for itself and Hong Kong. Beijing's plan to rein in Hong Kong—defying a worldwide outcry—is revenge on the democratic movement in Hong Kong that has been protesting since March 2019. It is also retaliation against the U.S. for passing the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act of 2019.

On May 27, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo issued a statement certifying that Hong Kong no longer warrants differential treatment under U.S. law. The U.S. response to the events over the past year signifies that it has shifted from an appeasing "change for trade" to an increasingly unyielding foreign policy toward China. Since the 1980s, the free world had been falsely hoping China would liberalize and democratize itself as trade rapidly grew between it and the world.

The special arrangement under which the U.S. treats Hong Kong differently from China on politics, trade and commerce stems from Hong Kong's maintaining sufficient autonomy. Now, as Beijing tightens its grip over the city, the basis of that special agreement is compromised. Therefore, the U.S. has every right to change its policy toward Hong Kong, regardless of Beijing's snarling about "foreign intervention."

Beijing has long taken advantage of Hong Kong to gain access to foreign capital and state-of-the-art technology. Hong Kong, enjoying special legal treatments, is the favorite channel for mainland Chinese

to ship funds offshore in defiance of Beijing's control on cross-border capital flows, taxation and corruption inspections. Distrusting their own currency, many Chinese find the Hong Kong dollar, which is linked to the U.S. dollar, to be more reliable. Chinese companies have pretended to be Hong Kong companies amid the Sino-American trade war. While leaders in Beijing continue to reap the benefits of this arrangement, the freedoms of Hong Kongers deteriorate.

The city can be used as a loophole against the free world if its special status remains unchanged. This new national-security law now risks all the benefits Beijing could and did exploit, but it is all Beijing's own doing.

As Hong Kong loses its special status, Beijing will lose its trump card against the free world. In response to American pressure, Beijing's short-term reaction will be more forceful, with further crackdowns on the political protest movement. Yet China's economy will be hindered in the long run.

The prosperity of Hong Kong is based on its autonomy. Beijing's decision will drive our city into dire straits—the stock market may plunge, unemployment numbers may rise, and foreign businesses may flee. But at the same time, we must acknowledge there is no room for a prosperous Hong Kong without an adequate amount of freedom and human-rights protection.

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*Wong is the secretary general of Demosisto, a Hong Kong pro-democracy organization; Kwong is a political activist*



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# Time Out

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this summer

76  
fetched the day before. Mr. Langham climbed up  
it and gave a cry of disgust.  
"You haven't cleaned the shelf at all! But here  
is the payment I left for you to find. I thought  
your mother would love to share it with you."  
He brought down a large box of chocolates—but  
he didn't give them to Tom. Tom felt so ashamed  
of himself that he couldn't even look at the old  
man.  
"And now for the last pay-  
ment, Langham. Come along. Dis-  
turb the straw into the nest-boxes!"  
"Yes, sir," said Tom.  
"But I suppose you were too  
old straw first!" said Mr. Lang-  
ham.  
"Yes, sir," said Tom, in a very  
low voice.  
Mr. Langham took him in  
his arms. He pulled out both the new and  
the old straw first—and there lay a box of  
three new pennies, round  
as the old ones. Langham picked them up and  
put them in his own pocket.  
"You can go," he said to Tom.  
"But Scoutmaster why I gave you  
like you shouldn't be Cub and  
do a good deed every day. Look at



77  
yesterday! You shouldn't be allowed to be in the  
Cubs. You had better resign at once."  
Tom was horrified. What would his mother say? And  
the boys? He caught hold of Mr. Langham's arm.  
"Sir, listen! I like being a Cub. It's fun. I'm  
sorry about those jobs. Please, please, sir, give me  
some more jobs to do and I'll do them well,  
without any payment at all—and I'll take a share  
of my own money-box to pay into the Fund."  
"I am I to believe a deceitful boy like you?"  
said Mr. Langham.  
"I don't know. But please do, sir," begged Tom.  
"You, I want to be a Cub. I can't bear to be  
out."  
"But the thing is—do you want to be a  
Cub—and later on a first-class Scout?" said  
Mr. Langham. "That's what matters."  
"I do. And I will, if you'll give me a  
job," said Tom. "I couldn't bear anyone to  
tell me this—and how I didn't find any of the  
jobs. Think of some more jobs for me, sir."  
"Yes, long ones. I'll soon show you!"  
said Mr. Langham. "I'll think of some—and  
I'll give you hard and long ones—with no payment

INSIDE

NETFLIX GOES INSIDE A  
NEW YORK CITY HOSPITAL

ON HBO, AN UNPRECEDENTED  
LOOK AT SEXUAL ASSAULT

ELISABETH MOSS BRINGS  
SHIRLEY JACKSON TO LIFE

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BEN LEWIS GILES FOR TIME



# TimeOff Opener

## BOOKS

### What to read this summer

By Andrew R. Chow, Annabel Gutterman and Katy Steinmetz

**M**ANY OF US MAY NOT BE ABLE TO RELAX ON A beach or gather around a pool with friends anytime soon, but that doesn't mean we can't still escape to somewhere far away—or comfortingly close to an old reality. The best new books coming this summer offer respite from our immediate troubles, yet still ask urgent questions about the world that surrounds us. From romantic diversions to page-turning thrills to thought-provoking nonfiction, here are 44 new books to read this summer.

## JUNE

### **THE VANISHING HALF** Brit Bennett

After moving to New Orleans as teenagers, twin sisters who shared a traumatic childhood in the Jim Crow South split ways—Desiree lives as black, while Stella passes as white. As the novel follows the estranged duo's journey as adults, Bennett creates a striking portrait of racial identity in America.

### **THE BOOK OF ROSY** Rosayra Pablo Cruz and Julie Schwieter Collazo

After Pablo Cruz's husband was murdered in Guatemala in 2018, she ventured north with her two sons. But when they arrived at the U.S.-Mexico border, her children were seized and placed in detention centers, while she spent 81 days in a cell. Pablo Cruz's memoir sheds light on the plight of the thousands of families who have been separated at the border.

### **EXCITING TIMES** Naoise Dolan

Ava, a 22-year-old Irish expat living in Hong Kong, is caught in a thorny love triangle with two very different

people: emotionally guarded banker Julian and affectionate lawyer Edith. Dolan's novel asks: Should Ava be with the person who fits more easily into her life or explore something new?

### **SURVIVING AUTOCRACY** Masha Gessen

The National Book Award winner's latest asks how the language used by the Trump Administration will impact the future of governing in the U.S. Raised in the Soviet Union, Gessen provides a personal perspective on the rise of autocratic leadership, seeking to understand the relationship between Donald Trump, the media and the public.

### **A BURNING** Megha Majumdar

In Majumdar's debut novel, Jivan is an English-language tutor from the slums of India who is wrongfully accused

of aiding a terrorist attack. Her only alibi is the outcast Lovely, who would be risking everything to help set Jivan free. Complicating matters more is PT Sir, a power-hungry gym teacher who is lured into helping a right-wing political party to ensure that Jivan takes the fall.

### **THE LEHMAN TRILOGY** Stefano Massini

It was one of the most anticipated plays to open on Broadway this spring, charting the long rise of Lehman Brothers, a financial powerhouse before its spectacular 2008 collapse. The Great White Way shut down while the show was in previews, but English-language readers can now enjoy the novelization-inverse that Massini first published in Italy in 2016.

### **THE DRAGONS, THE GIANT, THE WOMEN** Wayétu Moore

At 5 years old, Moore fled her home in Liberia on foot with her family as the emerging civil war threatened their safety, eventually settling in Texas. Her bruising memoir describes the perilous escape, as well as her experience of being a black immigrant living in the American South.

### **OUR TIME IS NOW** Stacey Abrams

Abrams, whose name is frequently bandied about as a potential vice-presidential pick for Joe Biden, focuses her book on her major cause: voting rights. She explores the history of voter suppression in the U.S. and her own experience of running for governor of Georgia.

### **YOU EXIST TOO MUCH** Zaina Arafat

A bisexual Palestinian-

American DJ with literary ambitions finds herself caught between several poles: her two countries; virtue and desire; family and personal ambition. Arafat's novel crosses from Jerusalem to New York to Jordan to Iowa as her protagonist attempts to find love and uncover the roots of a long-held trauma.

### **REBEL CHEF** Dominique Crenn with Emma Brockes

When Crenn was 19, she realized that in order to pursue her culinary dreams, she would have to leave France. She writes about her winding journey through an Indonesian kitchen; a victory on *Iron Chef*; and eventually her first restaurant, Atelier Crenn in San Francisco, which would earn multiple Michelin stars.

### **PIZZA GIRL**

**Jean Kyoung Frazier**  
A fictional 18-year-old pizza-delivery girl is pregnant and not exactly planning for her future—until she drops off a pie at the home of Jenny Hauser, a 30-something







stay-at-home mom. The two forge an unlikely bond, but it soon teeters into obsessive territory.

**THE SECRET WOMEN**  
**Sheila Williams**

Three women meet at a yoga class and bond over the recent passings of their mothers. But when the trio combs through their mothers' possessions, they are shocked to discover diary entries and letters that reveal secrets about the women who raised them.



**TOGETHER IN A SUDDEN STRANGENESS**  
**Alice Quinn (editor)**

Isolation has long been an essential poetic theme, from Basho haiku to Neruda poems—including the one that gives the title of this timely anthology its name. Eighty-five new poems document life in the strange new reality of the COVID-19 pandemic.

**DEMOCRACY IN ONE BOOK OR LESS**  
**David Litt**

Speechwriter Litt was known as “Obama’s joke

writer in chief,” responsible for many of the President’s sarcastic speeches. Litt laces his signature humor into an exploration of U.S. democracy and how it has transformed over the years.

**PARTY OF TWO**  
**Jasmine Guillory**

An innocent meet-cute evolves into a complicated secret relationship between a white politician and a black lawyer in Guillory’s latest romance. When Olivia Monroe meets Max Powell at a hotel bar, she has no idea he’s a Senator. They hit it off and

choose to keep their dating life private, but soon the secret’s out. As the media starts picking on Olivia, she has to decide whether her boyfriend is worth bearing the brunt of painful scrutiny.

**DEATH IN HER HANDS**  
**Ottessa Moshfegh**

A widow takes a walk in the woods, where she finds a note that announces the killing of a woman named Magda. There is no body to be seen, but Moshfegh’s isolated protagonist is determined to solve this mystery, which may not be a murder at all.

**SEX AND VANITY**  
**Kevin Kwan**

Lucie, a Chinese-American New Yorker, is engaged to a man who will fulfill her power-couple dreams. But when she unexpectedly runs into a surfer from her past, she starts to question those ambitions. In pages that move between the island of Capri and the Hamptons, the author of *Crazy Rich Asians* takes another humorous and heartfelt look at wealth, love and identity.

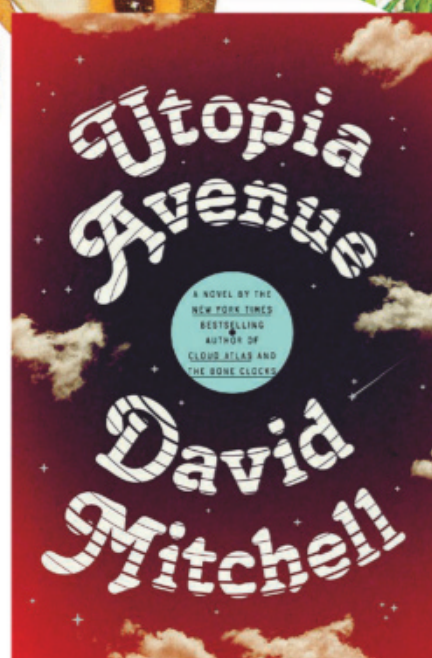
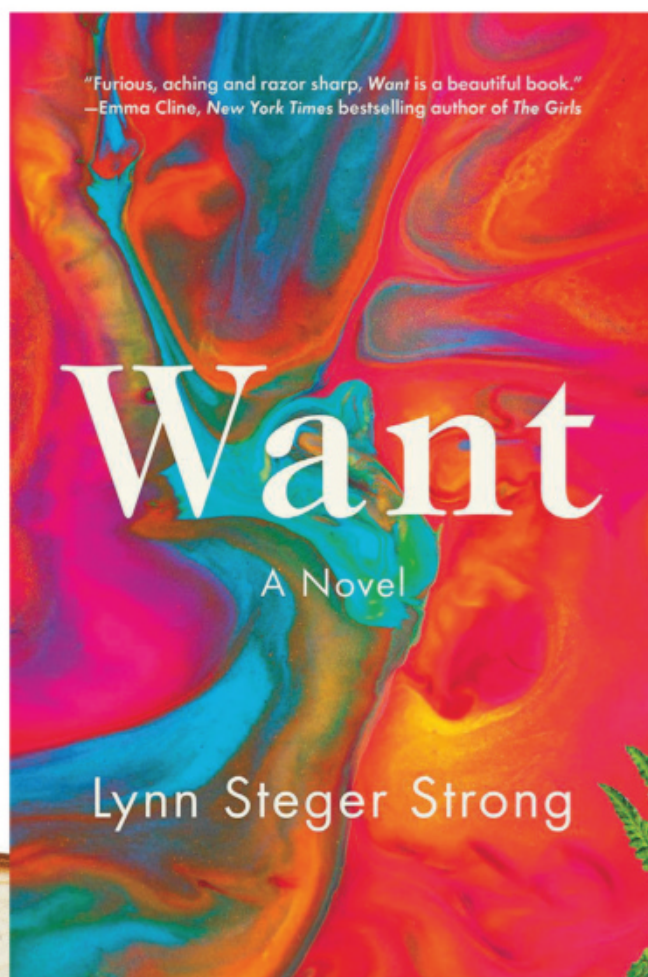
**JULY**

**MEMOIRS AND MISINFORMATION**  
**Jim Carrey and Dana Vachon**

The semidisclaimer that Carrey has made about his debut says it all: “None of this is real and all of it is true.” The quasi-autobiographical novel from the actor follows a fictionalized Jim Carrey who also happens to be a movie star. This Carrey is feeling both lonely and unsatisfied in his middle age, leading him on an odd path toward creative fulfillment.







## NOTES ON A SILENCING

**Lacy Crawford**

In 2017, the state of New Hampshire opened a criminal investigation into the elite prep school St. Paul's after reports of decades of sexual misconduct at the institution began to surface. Crawford, a former student, kept her alleged sexual assault in 1990 a secret until that moment, connecting with detectives on the case and writing about her experience.

## WANT

**Lynn Steger Strong**

Strong's second novel examines a woman who once had dreams of professorship but now seems to be hurtling toward bankruptcy and a midlife crisis. Unmoored and unmotivated, she finds solace in novels as well as a long-lost childhood friend who harbors lost aspirations of her own.

## MOTHER DAUGHTER WIDOW WIFE

**Robin Wasserman**

On a bus to Philadelphia, a woman is found with no identification. She doesn't know where she came from or where she's going. The state gives her a name, Wendy Doe, and diagnoses her with temporary amnesia, though it may not be so temporary. Wasserman's novel finds Wendy on a harrowing journey as she becomes a subject in a research project run by a doctor with questionable intentions.

## CROOKED HALLELUJAH

**Kelli Jo Ford**

Ford, a citizen of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, follows four generations of Cherokee women as they persevere through poverty, broken relationships, wildfires, tornadoes, oil busts and acts of violence in her debut novel.

## THE ONLY GOOD INDIANS

**Stephen Graham Jones**

The prolific horror writer's latest combines mortal danger with social commentary as it follows four men trying to escape revenge for their actions during a long-ago elk hunt. The protagonists, like the author, are part of the Blackfeet Nation.

## UTOPIA AVENUE

**David Mitchell**

The author of *The Bone Clocks* and *Cloud Atlas* turns to psychedelic rock for source material with a novel that stretches nearly 600 pages to chronicle the rise and fall of a '60s British rock band, blending drugs, ego and schizophrenia.

## SEX AND LIES

**Leïla Slimani**

In 2015, Slimani visited her native Morocco while on tour for a novel about a duplicitous, sex-addicted wife. The tale inspired women in that country—where adultery and sex before marriage are punishable crimes—to tell the author about their own struggles navigating desire and social norms. These confessions became the backbone of her new nonfiction work, an appeal for change.

## BIG FRIENDSHIP

**Aminatou Sow and Ann Friedman**

The co-hosts of the podcast *Call Your Girlfriend* reflect on more than 10 years of friendship, prompting readers to consider how they communicate with and fight for the people they hold close.

## THE PULL OF THE STARS

**Emma Donoghue**

The *Room* author's timely new novel, spanning just three days, captures the chaos and devastation inside a Dublin hospital maternity ward during the 1918 flu pandemic. There, the staff is being pushed to their breaking points to deliver babies from infected mothers.

## THE ANSWER IS ...

**Alex Trebek**

Inspired by the outpouring of support he received after



revealing his pancreatic-cancer diagnosis in 2019, Trebek reflects on his life and storied career as the host of *Jeopardy!*

**LET'S NEVER TALK ABOUT THIS AGAIN**

**Sara Faith Alterman**

Alterman, a producer for the live show and podcast *Mortified*, finds humor and meaning in a deeply awkward situation: discovering that her father has a secret career as a pornographic novelist.

**NO PRESENTS PLEASE**

**Jayant Kaikini**

Poet and lyricist Kaikini captures the nuances of Mumbai in 16 stories. Translated from the southern Indian language of Kannada, *No Presents Please* is an award-winning collection told through characters like a cinema worker and a bus driver.

**MUST I GO**

**Yiyun Li**

In Li's latest novel, when 80-something grandmother Lilia Liska discovers the diary of her former lover Roland, she's thrown into an unexpected exploration of her past. Fascinated by Roland's memories, Lilia starts writing on the pages with her own interpretation of the moments they shared—unveiling secrets and reflecting on a terrible loss.

**MEMORIAL DRIVE**

**Natasha Trethewey**

The former U.S. poet laureate contemplates the traumas of her youth. When Trethewey was 19, her life erupted after her stepfather brutally killed her mother. Her aching memoir unpacks that moment and all that came before it, ruminating on

her experience growing up in Mississippi and Georgia.

**I HOLD A WOLF BY THE EARS**

**Laura van den Berg**

A grief freelancer describes her work impersonating dead wives for widowed husbands. Cracks form between a married couple. The sister of a comatose gunshot victim remembers a trip they took. In her latest short-story collection, van den Berg picks apart a culture that surrounds and suffocates her female characters.

**AUGUST**

**THE DEATH OF VIVEK OJI**

**Akwaeke Emezi**

When Vivek Oji's mother finds her son's body at her front door, she's forced to finally get to know the child she never understood. As Emezi describes Vivek's coming of age in Nigeria, the author reveals the difficulties the titular character faced in realizing he was queer.

**LUSTER**

**Raven Leilani**

Edie is an aspiring artist who moves in with the man she's been seeing after she loses her job. The man is married, but his wife has agreed to keep their relationship open. In her new home, Edie is encouraged to bond over her black identity with the

couple's adopted teenage daughter. Tensions in the house rise as Leilani propels her lost protagonist on a journey of self-discovery, and spins fresh commentary on race and class.

**TALES OF TWO PLANETS**

**John Freeman (editor)**

Writers including Margaret Atwood and Edwidge Danticat contribute to a collection that combines fiction, essays and poetry to explore how climate change intersects with inequality.

**BEGIN AGAIN**

**Eddie S. Glaude Jr.**

The academic draws parallels between racial tensions in the U.S. today and in the years following the civil rights movement, particularly the way those years were navigated by renowned essayist James Baldwin.

**LOVE AFTER LOVE**

**Ingrid Persaud**

Set in her birthplace of Trinidad and told in the dialect of people who live there, Persaud's novel follows a mother who escapes domestic violence and forms a makeshift family with a male friend and her son, only to have that more tranquil existence disrupted by unearthed secrets.

**A SAINT FROM TEXAS**

**Edmund White**

Twin sisters from oil-rich Texas are bound for different lives. One is pursuing indulgence in Paris and the other, salvation in South America. Despite the distance, and plenty of drama, White's novel explores how the bond of twins is hard to break.

**BELABORED**

**Lyz Lenz**

Lenz delves into one of the great ironies surrounding

pregnancy: as women do the work necessary to bring a child into the world, they are often infantilized themselves. She draws attention to the rising rate of maternal mortality in the U.S., and calls for an update to the way people view pregnancy.

**THIS IS THE NIGHT OUR HOUSE WILL CATCH FIRE**

**Nick Flynn**

When Flynn was 7, his life was upended after his mother set fire to their house. Nearly a decade and a half later, she took her life. In his new memoir, the playwright-poet returns to his hometown with his young daughter to better understand his upbringing.

**THE PRESIDENTS VS. THE PRESS**

**Harold Holzer**

Tensions between the White House and the media may be more public than ever today, but, as scholar Holzer reveals, they go back as far as *Commanders in Chief* do.

**VESPER FLIGHTS**

**Helen Macdonald**

From reflections on her childhood love of animals to sharp observations on the migrations of songbirds, the author of *H Is for Hawk* fills her essay collection with vivid appreciation for the wildlife that surrounds us.

**HOAX**

**Brian Stelter**

Stelter conducted more than 250 interviews in his quest to shed new light on a relationship that is shaping American history: that between Trump and Fox News. He focuses on the interplay between the country's leader and its most-watched cable news network during the COVID-19 pandemic. □







*Little-Richardson, far left, delivers babies while expecting one of her own*

just the historical dearth of people of color at a hospital with so many non-white patients, but also the financial privilege that enabled her to become a doctor. Her triumphs in the delivery room are tempered by her worries over an abnormal ultrasound.

Near the end of her own pregnancy, Dr. Mirtha Macri thrives on the bustle of the ER. For this indefatigable practitioner, the challenge of treating patients who may be intoxicated, hysterical or homeless—some of whom need a social worker more urgently than a physician—is invigorating. I came away from her segments energized, too, by the certainty that Macri had found her calling, and that her fitness for such a career was a boon to everyone in her care.

## REVIEW

### A docuseries that's just what the doctor ordered

By Judy Berman

IT MAY HAVE TAKEN A PANDEMIC FOR AMERICANS TO EXPRESS our collective appreciation for health care workers, but they've always had an outsize presence on TV. Shows like *ER*, *Grey's Anatomy* and *M\*A\*S\*H* have galvanized generations. As broadcast networks flail, their doctor dramas remain crowd-pleasers. And yet, I've never seen anything like *Lenox Hill* before.

The eight-part Netflix docuseries follows four physicians at the titular New York City hospital over the course of several months on the job. By choosing the doctors they profile there with care, director-producers Ruthie Shatz and Adi Barash capture the astounding range of personalities, specialties and styles of care within the medical profession—and do justice to the heroism that takes place behind hospital doors.

For neurosurgery department chair Dr. David Langer and his vice chair, Dr. John Boockvar, that means supporting patients and their loved ones as much as it means doing the precise, high-stakes work of brain surgery. The directors highlight Boockvar's involvement in cancer research, and don't sugarcoat the frustrations Langer faces in balancing patient care and administrative duties. Both men speak about their families with fierce affection; that they bring the same devotion to their patients comes through in the emotion the cameras capture.

Elsewhere at Lenox Hill we meet Dr. Amanda Little-Richardson, the chief resident in obstetrics and gynecology—who happens to be pregnant herself. A young black woman at a professional and personal crossroads, she offers perspective on not

*Langer takes inspiration from his father, who died at 45 of a stroke*

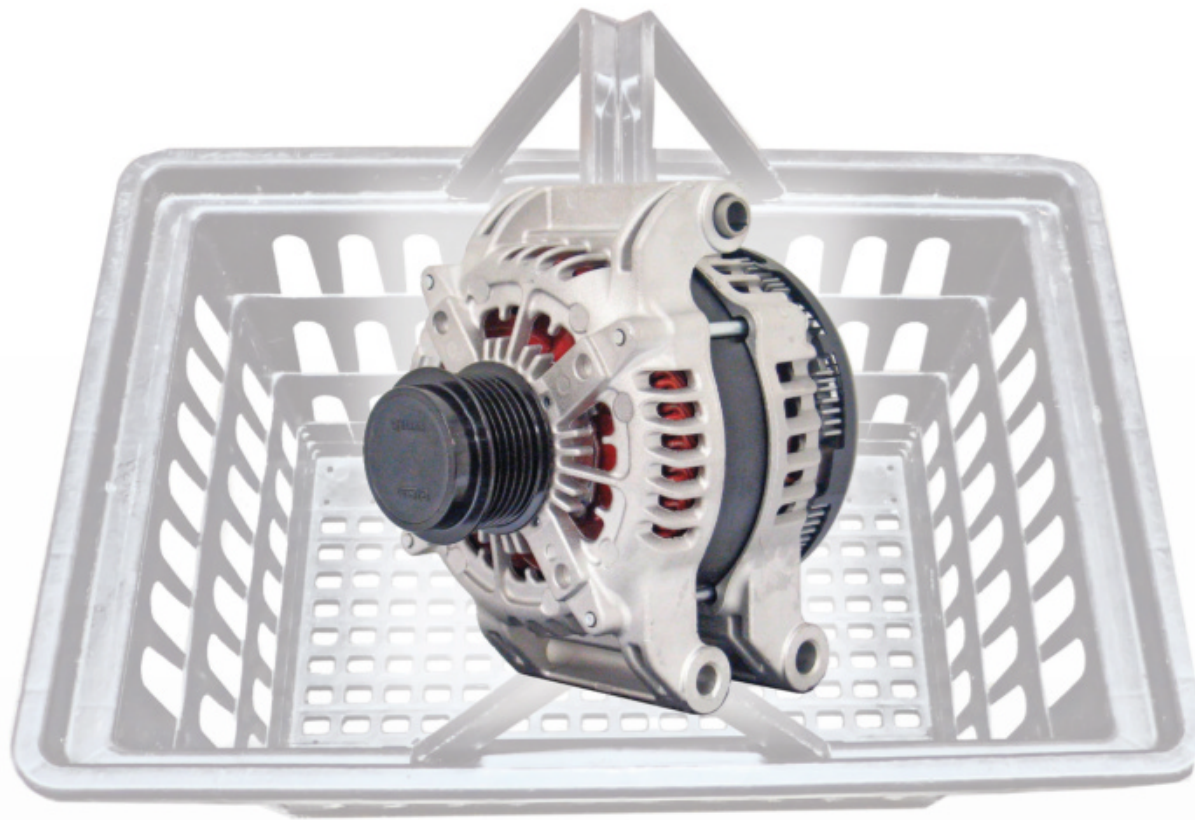


**SHATZ AND BARASH** keep the show's structure loose, moving fluidly between subjects at a pace that gives viewers a genuine sense of the bonds patients form with their doctors over the course of an extended hospital stay. Though I'm curious about why they chose to contrast two white, male neurosurgery stars with two pregnant female physicians of color—and why the devastating costs of health care rarely come up—it's the directors' hands-off style that gives *Lenox Hill* its rare authenticity. From the ecstasy on a new mom's face at the first glimpse of her baby to the sight of staffers rallying around a gravely ill colleague, the series comes by its emotional resonance honestly. (I cried. Often.)

*Lenox Hill* would have been remarkable regardless of timing, but the pre-occupations of the coronavirus era are bound to afford the show more attention than it would have otherwise garnered. That feels right. Though it was shot before the pandemic unleashed chaos on hospitals, it stands as a tribute to the admirable qualities so many health care workers have displayed—intelligence, empathy, humility—as they rise to an unprecedented challenge.

**LENOX HILL** comes to Netflix on June 10





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## REVIEW

### A search that may Destroy

By Judy Berman

STORIES OF SEXUAL ASSAULT HAVE A disconcerting tendency to flatten the victims' personalities until they're defined by the worst thing that ever happened to them. Who they were before the attack and who they become after are footnotes.

*I May Destroy You* is the antidote to this trend. Writer, executive producer and co-director Michaela Coel (*Chewing Gum*) stars as author Arabella, a London party girl who made her name with a millennial cri de coeur beloved by her black female peers. By the time we meet her, she has a book due. After succumbing to the siren song of her drinking buddies, she submits a draft incoherent enough to worry her agency and wanders around in a fog that's typical enough of a nasty hangover—until she's blindsided by the mental image of a man panting over her in a bathroom.

It takes Arabella a while to believe her own brain; even as she reports the incident to police, she insists the memory "may not actually be real." The pity on a female officer's face as she makes excuses for friends who failed to get her home safe speaks not just to her trauma but also to an urgent need to re-evaluate

how she's living and whom she trusts.

This is dangerous ground. But Coel stays on the right side of the line between providing context and shifting blame by telling an uncommonly holistic story—one that illustrates why Arabella was hurtling toward a reckoning long before the attack destabilized her false sense of security. Flashbacks to her childhood uncover details that don't fit convenient narratives she's created for herself about

formative experiences. In-depth story lines surrounding her best pals raise more tough questions. Gray areas around consent become a theme.

Such complexity would've been enough to distinguish *I May Destroy You* from so many representations of sexual misconduct. Remarkably, though, it grows even more ambitious as it continues, laying bare people's endless capacity to misjudge one another based on superficial markers of identity. This isn't ultimately a show about Arabella's search for the truth of one harrowing night. It's a show about how a writer living an unexamined life comes to know herself.

**I MAY DESTROY YOU** premieres June 7 on HBO

Gray areas around consent become a theme



Arabella (Coel) embarks on an accidental quest for self-knowledge



## REVIEW

### Dear Apple: ads aren't entertainment

Maybe it's possible to upcycle an ad campaign into a decent TV show, but as disasters like that 2007 ABC sitcom about the Geico cavemen suggest, it certainly isn't easy. In the case of *Dear ...*, an Apple TV+ adaptation of the memorable "Dear Apple" commercials that have customers reading effusive letters about how Apple devices have touched their lives, the result is essentially a series of high-end infomercials. Instead of smartwatches, the products being hawked are people.

The list of participants is impressive; Oprah, Lin-Manuel Miranda, Stevie Wonder, Gloria Steinem and other icons each get a half-hour episode. Padded with a pocket biography in the luminary's own words—one that won't tell existing fans much they don't know—*Dear ...* intersperses shots of the honorees enjoying fan mail with scenes that awkwardly place the writers within the anecdotes their letters recount. A woman emerges from a smoking car thanking Big Bird (a fictional character, but no matter) for the comfort *Sesame Street* provided after her crash; an educator strides through a classroom reading a note to Spike Lee. Moving though these sentiments can be, they're undercut by these oddly slick visuals. Once again, good advertising fails to make good entertainment. —J.B.

**DEAR ...** debuts June 5 on Apple TV+



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Stuhlbarg and Moss: a match made somewhere far from heaven

## REVIEW

### An author, human and haunted

By Stephanie Zacharek

ELISABETH MOSS, OFTEN DRAWN TO portraying either vaguely or totally unlikable characters, has no vanity and no fear. In Josephine Decker's *Shirley*, she plays a fictionalized version of eccentric, reclusive novelist and short-story writer Shirley Jackson—perhaps best known for her chilly 1948 groupthink parable “The Lottery”—and once again her instincts prevail. Her Jackson is a tyrant with cold, inquisitive eyes, her skin dotted with age spots, her tummy thickened with padding. Moss melts into this disguise like a poisonous but dazzling color-changing salamander, beckoning us for a closer look, if we dare.

Jackson died in 1965, at age 48, and *Shirley*, based on a novel by Susan Scarf Merrell, takes place roughly within the last decade of her life. Eager, aspiring academic Fred (Logan Lerman) and his wife Rose (Odessa Young) show up at the Vermont home Jackson shares with her husband Stanley Hyman (Michael Stuhlbarg), a seemingly affable Bennington professor whose rumpled jocularity masks a cruel streak. Stanley has hired Fred as an assistant, also offering the newlyweds a place to stay until they

can get settled. What he really wants, though, is a housekeeper. The job naturally falls to Rose, who clearly has more natural curiosity and intelligence than her husband does, though she's put her own studies on hold.

Rose also takes it upon herself to wrangle the increasingly impossible Shirley, an acid-tongued agoraphobe who can barely get out of bed. Shirley hasn't written anything in ages. But after a rocky start, the two women, both hamstrung by their husbands' thinly veiled condescension, forge a thorny friendship that jump-starts Shirley's work at the typewriter.

*Shirley* leans a little too hard on its calculated “1950s housewife empowers herself” finale. Even so, Moss's channeling of Jackson keeps the movie crackling. During her lifetime, Jackson never got the acclaim she deserved for extraordinary, unsettling novels like *The Haunting of Hill House*. Moss invites us, now, to take stock of this strange and brilliant woman. Rarely is a withering gaze this seductive.

**SHIRLEY** is available on streaming platforms beginning June 5

## REVIEW

### When serious wordplay pays off

ANDREW FRIED'S *WE ARE Freestyle Love Supreme* proves that you never know when having a camera around will pay off years later. In 2005, Fried began recording the improvisatory antics of a group of New York City rappers who called themselves Freestyle Love Supreme. At the time, nobody had any idea that three of the group's members, Lin-Manuel Miranda, Thomas Kail and Christopher Jackson, were poised to become Broadway superstars.

After Miranda, Kail and Jackson hit it big—first with *In the Heights* and then with *Hamilton*—the group's members drifted apart. In 2019, they reunited for a limited Broadway run of their fizzy, made-up-on-the-fly show, a wild crisscrossing of poetry and music, and Fried was right there with his camera. The result has a bit of an inside-baseball vibe. But for hardcore Miranda fans, it's a glimpse into what can happen when enormously gifted people take their messing around seriously. —S.Z.

## WE ARE FREESTYLE LOVE

**SUPREME** streams on Hulu on June 5



Miranda built a career off loving words that rhyme

SHIRLEY: NEON; WE ARE FREESTYLE LOVE SUPREME: HULU



# Seniors born before 1956 get new medical alert device with no monthly bills ever

*It's just what seniors have been waiting for; a sleek new medical alert device with no contracts, no deposits and no monthly bills that instantly connects you to free unlimited nationwide help with just the push of a button for a one-time \$149 price tag that's a real steal after today's instant rebate*

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Starting at precisely 8:30am this morning the Pre-Store Release begins for the sleek new medical alert device that comes with the exclusive FastHelp™ One-Touch E 911 Button that instantly connects you to unlimited nationwide help everywhere cell service is available with no contracts, no deposits and no monthly bills ever.

"It's not like old style monitored help buttons that make you talk to a call center and only work when you're at home and come with hefty bills every month. FastHelp comes with state-of-the-art cellular embedded technology. That means it works at home or anywhere, anytime cell service is available whether you're out watering the garden, driving in a car, at church or even hundreds of miles away on a tour or at a casino. You are never alone. With just a single push of the One-Touch E Button you instantly get connected to free unlimited help nationwide with no monthly bills ever," said Jack Lawrence, Executive Director of Product Development for U.S. based Universal Physicians.

"FastHelp is a state of the art medical alert device designed to make you look important, not old. Old style monitored help buttons you wear around your neck, or require expensive base station equipment or a landline are the equivalent of a horse and buggy," Lawrence says. "It's just outdated."

Millions of seniors fall every year and spend hours lying on the floor helpless and all alone with no help.

But seniors who fall and get immediate help are much more likely to avoid getting sent to a nursing home and get to STAY living in their own home

independently.

Yet millions of seniors are still risking their safety by not having a medical alert device. That's because seniors just can't afford to pay the monthly bills that come with old style medical alert devices.

That's why seniors born before 1956 are calling to cash in the whopping \$150 instant rebate before the 2 day deadline ends.

So there's no need to wait for FastHelp to hit store shelves later this year because seniors born before 1956 can get it now just by calling the toll free hot line printed in today's newspaper to cash-in the \$150 instant rebate before the 2-day deadline ends. If lines are busy keep trying, all calls will be answered. ■



■ **FLYING OUT THE DOOR:** Trucks are being loaded with a new medical alert device called FastHelp. That's because now that nearly everyone is sheltered in place and doing all they can to keep safe, it's critical that workers take every safety precaution possible to make sure these lifesaving devices get delivered to lucky seniors who call the National Rebate Center Hotline today. Everyone is calling to get FastHelp, the sleek new medical alert device because it instantly connects you to unlimited nationwide help everywhere cell service is available with no contracts, no deposits and no monthly bills ever.

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► **IF BORN BEFORE 1956:** To get the instant rebate call this Toll-Free Hotline: 1-866-244-3659 EXT. HELP2265

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**THE BOTTOM LINE:** You don't need to shop around. We've done all the leg work, this deal is too good to pass up. FastHelp after the \$150 instant rebate is a real steal at just \$149 and shipping and there are no monthly bills ever.

**PROS:** It's the sleek new medical alert device that comes with the exclusive FastHelp One-Touch E 911 Button that instantly connects you to free unlimited nationwide help everywhere cell service is available with no contracts or deposits. It connects you to the vast available network of cellular towers for free so it saves seniors a ton of money because there are no monthly bills ever making this deal irresistible. Plus it's the only medical alert device that makes seniors look important, not old.

**CONS:** Consumers can't get FastHelp in stores until later this year. That's why it's so important for seniors born before 1956 to call the National Rebate Center Hotline within the next 2 days. For those who miss that deadline, the sleek little medical alert device will set you back over \$300 bucks.



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# 7 Questions

**Eric Reid** The NFL safety on George Floyd, his former teammate Colin Kaepernick and athlete protests

**Y**ou started kneeling during the national anthem, in solidarity with former San Francisco 49ers teammate Colin Kaepernick, in 2016. You've continued to kneel since. After the death of George Floyd, did you feel a sense of "This is exactly why we did this"? My experience with Colin and the guys that knelt with me, we said from the very beginning, the reason we did this was to shine a light on injustice that was happening. Those who were supposed to protect and serve the community were perpetuating the injustice that they're supposed to be protecting us from. Anytime anybody is murdered for any reason, this is unacceptable. But more so when somebody has taken an oath to protect people and then uses their badge as a way to kill somebody underneath their authority.

**Do you now feel stronger in your conviction that kneeling was the right thing?** I feel the exact same way anytime I see innocent blood being shed, of any sort. It's disturbing, and it's upsetting.

**Might we see a revival of kneeling and other visible acts of protest by football players and other athletes when sports return from the COVID-19 stoppage?** To me it doesn't matter what the gesture is or what happens. I want justice, and I want injustice to stop. By whatever means it takes. I won't be counting the number of people who are protesting or celebrating, that it was 10 guys this week, 20 guys the next week. I'll be happy when we see a decline in police-brutality cases. When we see a decline in innocent blood being shed. That is the issue. Unjust murder. I'll celebrate when that stops.

**Will you continue to kneel during the anthem?** I've been asked that question a million and one

**"I WOULD HOPE PEOPLE ARE DOING THINGS OUT OF LOVE, NOT HATE"**



times. It's a fluid answer. If something was done that would make police officers know they are not above the law, that they would be brought to justice for shedding innocent blood, there will be no need to take a knee. Taking a knee was simply us peacefully using our platform to shine a light on injustice. Without injustice, there's no protest. Nobody will be happy when somebody is murdered. But people will be confident that when that heinous act happens, there will be retribution.

**Do you have a message for people who have criticized you over these past few years, who've called you unpatriotic, disrespectful and worse?** I don't. We need to make police officers know they are not above the law. That doesn't mean I want to see a police officer die. That's not what it means. They need to be held to the same standard as everybody else. And maybe once they realize that, they won't be so quick to kneel on the back of somebody's head.

**You're a free agent. Does it cross your mind that the current unrest could make teams less likely to sign you, given your history of demonstrating?** Yeah, of course it does. After we protested, Colin hasn't been on the field since. I set two records for the Panthers last year and got cut. It's always been on teams' minds. Will they say it? No, they will never say it. There will be legal repercussions if they come out and say that. So they'll never say that. But their actions show it.

**Do you have any message for protesters?** Look, I will tell no person what to do. They make decisions on their own. I would just hope that people don't hate one another. Nothing will come out of this; it will only escalate. People deal with their emotions in different ways. But at the end of the day, I would hope people are doing things out of love, not hate. —SEAN GREGORY





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